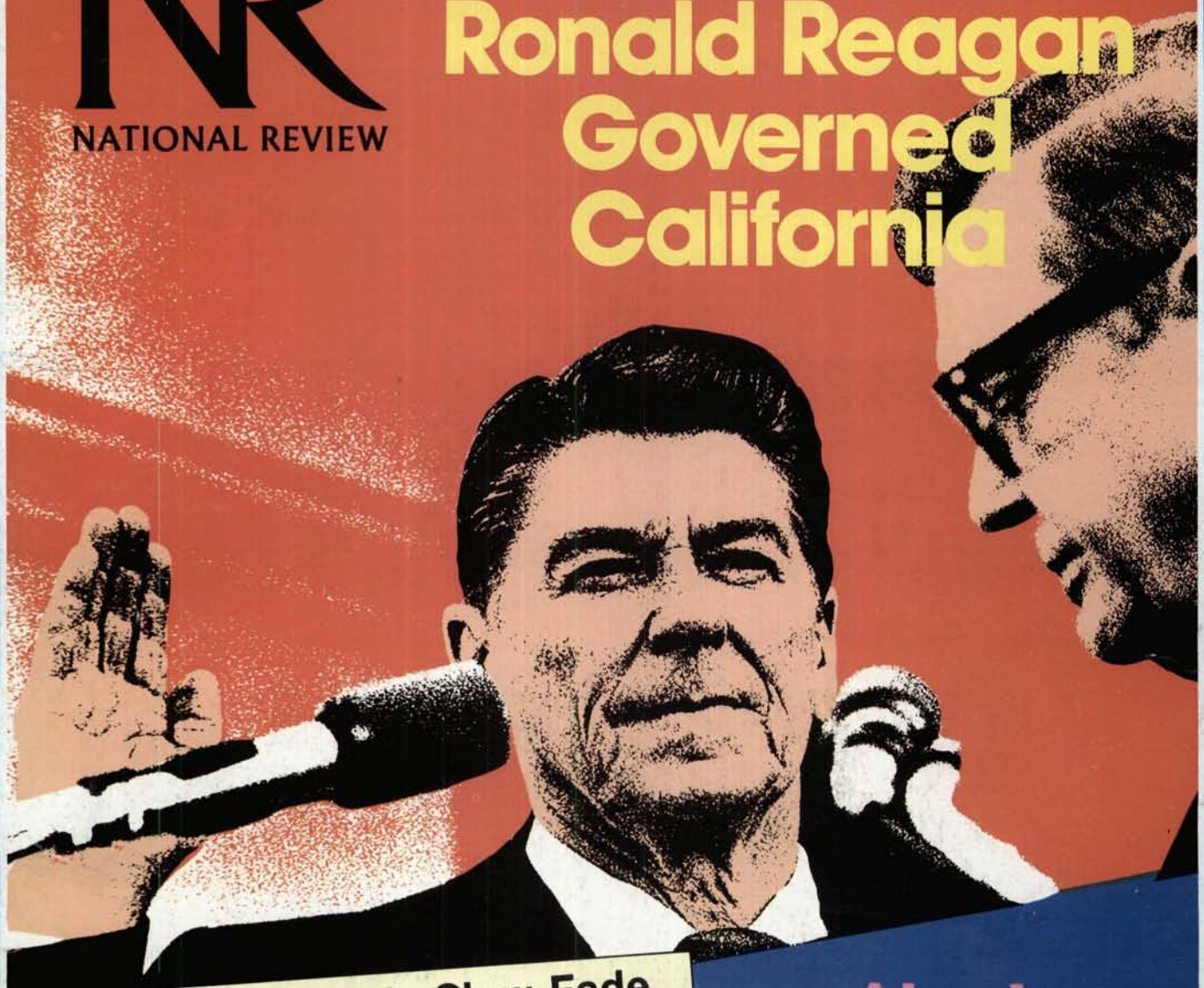
NR
NATIONAL REVIEW

How Ronald Reagan Governed California



Ronald Reagan's Slow Fade

Ever since Barry Goldwater's image pollster Mervin Field. "He has polarized Democrats, the education and welfare

Reagan's 'Way' to Nowhere

His First Setback in Seven Years

Reagan Tax Measure Soundly Beaten

By Leroy F. Aarons
Washington Post Staff Writer

political defeat said 'How can

Conservative Reagan shifts to neutral for political

His decision the presidenc

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By Curtis J. Sitomer
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Sacramento, California

California Gov. Ronald Reagan is shifting into political "neutral" for what could be a major thrust for the presidency in 1976.

only be good citizens if they inform themselves and vote.

Mr. Reagan says many so-called sophisticated citizens are influenced by "distorted campaign propaganda."

He also thinks private citizens

Also In This Issue:

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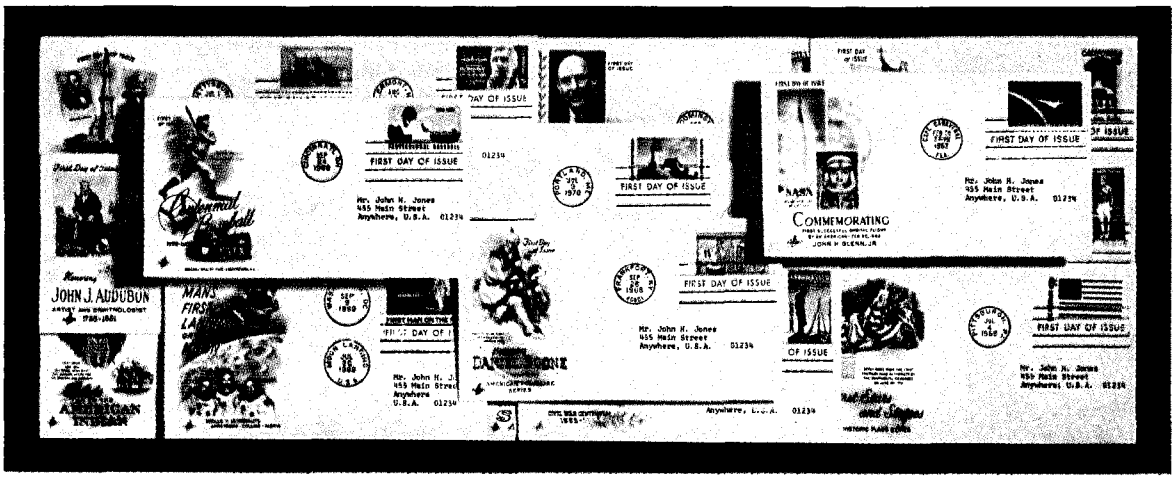

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Letters

Reach for the Bible

Surely R. V. Young Jr. is *NR*'s Xmas present to its readers—wrapped in a very clever Xmas cover ["Christianity and Ecology," Dec. 20]. Christianity is quite definitely the bogeyman of many ecologists: see, for example, Chilton Williamson's review of the book *Man's Responsibility for Nature: Ecological Problems and Western Traditions* in the November 8 *NR*. You don't have to be an ecofreak to desire an adequate supply of ozone for your children. Nor an Antichrist, as Mr. Young has brilliantly demonstrated. 1974 was a year in which when people heard the word government they reached for the Constitution. Now when they hear the word ecology they will reach for the Bible.

Albany, N.Y. JOHN MACGREGOR

Keeping Amnesty on Course

Congratulations on George Nash's well-balanced and objective article on Amnesty International [Dec. 6]. Mr. Nash's diagnosis seems confirmed by my recent experience.

During a panel convoked by AI, I warned against sweeping condemnations of the death penalty, of punishment of deserters, and of torture under all circumstances. Whereupon, the report in the official *Amnesty Action* had me urging torture and the death penalty for draft resisters. When a member of the organization wrote in wondering about my perversity, the staff intimated that such repulsive characters do indeed exist and congregate around Mr. Buckley. Upon protest, I received apologies from all concerned. *Amnesty Action* will publish a correction. The matter is settled. But the nonsense would never have been invented and attributed to me, were it not that the people selected for staff positions have automatic leftist reflexes, which enable them to attribute any evil to conservatives. Most constituents also lean left.

Levelheaded leaders and members try to combat inhumaneness, whatever its political symbols. They have a hard time preventing the organization from becoming a leftist pressure group, such as the ACLU has become. They deserve all the support we can give them, and which the ACLU has ceased to deserve. Conservatives are no less interested in the humane treatment of political dissidents than liberals are. They are often less onesided. So, let us not allow humaneness to become a leftist cause by default. Let us support the humanitarian efforts of AI. Let us join and, when necessary, resist from within the transformation of the group into a political vehicle. We are needed to keep it on course.

New York, N.Y. ERNEST VAN DEN HAAG

Do It Yourself

I appreciated your recent revelation of the failure of gun control in Italy ["The Week," Nov. 22]. Perhaps *NR* readers would be interested in similar news from other parts of the world. The Pathans of the Khyber Pass, the Vietcong, English schoolboys (I can name names), and New York juvenile delinquents make their own guns. None of the advocates of gun control has shown how he can control the small-workshop technology which can produce revolvers and ammunition.

Las Cruces, N.M. NORMAN WHISLER

Free Us from D & D

Dr. Malachi Martin's article on thanatology [Nov. 22] was excellent. I had always thought I would like to die peacefully in bed with my Bible in one hand and my rosary in the other after living to a feisty old age. Now I see there is less to fear in the sight of a Southern Pacific train cannonballing down on my stalled car than in the bedside ministrations of D & D "experts" who wouldn't be caught dead, period.

Milpitas, Calif. FRANCES MARTINI

Why the Sub-Sahara Famine

I must take exception to comments appearing in *NR* ["The Week," Nov. 22] relative to property rights in the Sahel of West Africa. It is simply unfair of you to state the Sahelian disaster in terms of property rights. There have never been property rights in the sense the West accepts the concepts in the region of the Sahel within Senegal, Mauritania, Mali, Upper Volta, Niger, and Chad—all former French colonies.

(Continues on page 10)

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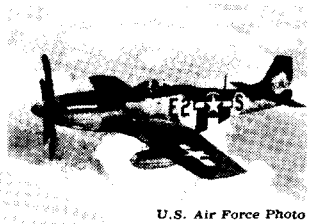

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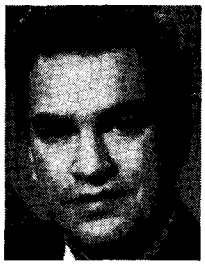
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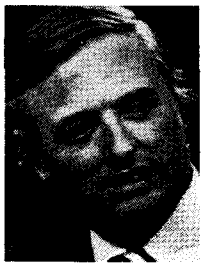
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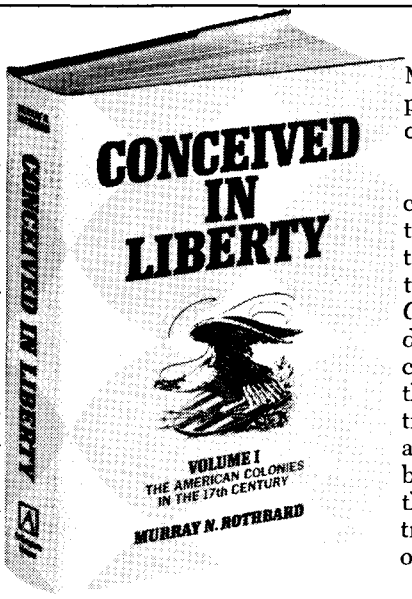

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FOR THE RECORD

■ Tolling out the old, and in the new: facts significant, interesting, absurd. In 1974, the **federal payroll** hit an all-time high of $35.7 billion. . . . By the end of 1974, 50 per cent of the American people were paying more in **Social Security taxes** than in federal income tax. . . . Still incomplete figures from philanthropic organizations indicated Americans in 1974 may well top the record $24.5 billion in **private giving** set in 1973, despite economic woes. . . . Polls showed 70 per cent of the American people favored retention of the national 55 mph **speed limit**, 68 per cent said they had cut their own driving speeds (but not, said most state cops, to 55 mph). . . . As a new, younger, more liberal and feisty Democratic Congress took over, two Opinion Research polls showed 1) that 74 per cent of the population at large favored retention of **Taft-Hartley**'s 14 (b) clause—the right to work clause—and 2) that 60 per cent of **union members** felt labor leaders in America were too powerful. . . . The cost of living went up in 1974 approximately 12 per cent, but the **cost of dying**, that is to say funerals, went up only 6 per cent: cheaper caskets, fewer limousines, more cremations.

■ **Henry Kissinger** was voted the most admired man in the world in George Gallup's year-end ratings for the second time in a row. **Billy Graham** placed second and **Gerald Ford** third. **Richard Nixon** was still on the list—No. 7. Republicans **Nelson Rockefeller** and **Ronald Reagan** (Nos. 6 and 9) made the top ten for the first time, replacing **Ralph Nader** and **Pope Paul VI**. . . . The *Ladies Home Journal*'s year-end most admired women category had **Pat Nixon** still on top as No. 1. . . . In the Communist *World Magazine*, the most admireds at year-end included **Leonid Brezhnev, Hortensia Allende** (Mrs. Salvador), Soviet gymnast **Olga Korbut**, and **Yasir Arafat** of the PLO.

Holland, *London Sunday Telegraph* Rothco

■ The UN took a sharp dive in popularity in the course of its 29th General Assembly session. Sen. **John Sparkman** (D., Ala.), who succeeds **J. William Fulbright** as chairman of the powerful Foreign Relations Committee, said of the General Assembly: "We are going to have to watch it very carefully and reassess it all along." . . . Outgoing Republican Sen. **Peter Dominick** (Colo.) urged the U.S. to withdraw from active participation in the General Assembly meetings because the GA has "made it crystal clear that far from representing a hope for peace it is in fact an obstacle to it." . . . Membership in the next General Assembly will be pressed on the spanking newest nation of them all, the **Comoro Islands** off the east coast of Africa, which voted for independence from France Christmas week, at the urging of their fiery president Aimed Abdullah, whose proudest boast is he can neither read nor write.

■ Other international changes: With **Australia**'s vote in the Security Council to expel South Africa, with its recognition of Guinea Bissau (before Portugal gave that colony its independence), with its recognition of Soviet rule over Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia (one of the few Western powers to have done so), it is trying, said a Melbourne paper, to become the "Sweden of the South Pacific." . . . In Ottawa, **Pierre Trudeau**'s special foreign affairs adviser, **Ivan Head**, reported that, after Trudeau's meeting with Swedish Premier **Olof Palme**, Trudeau had determined to take "a new activist role on the left wing of international affairs." . . . In France, Socialist leader **François Mitterrand**'s speeches have been laced in recent months with mentions of "American imperialism." Mitterrand's newest adviser on Latin American affairs is **Régis Debray**, the former Communist revolutionary journalist who was captured with Che Guevara in Bolivia and imprisoned there for three years.

■ In Athens, Christmas week, the **Karamanlis** government charged former Junta leader **George Papadopoulos** and four of his top aides with treason (possible penalty: death). . . . The **Cypriot** House of Representatives passed an emergency measure to permit legal abortions of Greek Cypriots raped by Turkish troops during the invasion. . . . **Nicosia** saw its first horse race in six months the day after Christmas with 5,000 Greek Cypriots watching from one side of the track and Turkish soldiers from the other—the temporary demarcation line runs down the middle. . . . The Soviet Union went into the fifth year of its latest **Five Year Plan** behind schedule (so what's new?). . . . And that most ghoulish of British attractions, London's Ripper Rambles, a tour of all of **Jack the Ripper**'s murder spots, fell victim to the times—urban renewal.

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LETTERS

(Continued from page 4)

This region was, until relatively recent times, inhabited by a society that had developed means for dealing successfully with the harshness of its environment. It was a nomadic society in which the members, guided by inter- and intratribal traditions, could inhabit the ecotone between desert and desert-grassland transition without irrevocably degrading that ecotone. That changed in the late nineteenth century when the tribes lost a measure of control over the management of their resources. With nationalization of the former French colonies, they lost all control over these resources. The result has been, as you are well aware, *in situ* desertification as well as southern advancement of the Sahara.

The loss of tribal autonomy, the introduction of a cash economy, the centralization of population and cattle around wells newly dug by their governments—and by agencies of the United Nations—have contributed to the destruction of adaptations by formerly nomadic societies to a semi-desert environment. This destruction is manmade; not directly by the inhabitants of that lost environment, but by the imposition of governmental controls over them. The drought exacerbates an already impossible situation.

Owing to man-imposed controls, many of these people must die. They will die without knowing why. It is unfair to ascribe their miserable plight to the lack of Western concepts of property ownership. A very good case can be made for that concept contributing to this disaster.

Santa Barbara, Calif. ROBERT K. MULLEN

Speech: How Free?

R. H. Coase's analysis of the self-interest of intellectuals is magnificent ["The Market for Ideas," Sept. 27]. It should, in fact, stimulate a reexamination of the First Amendment itself.

It is noteworthy that the Amendment refers not to "freedom of speech, and of the press, and of assembly" but rather to "the freedom of speech" and "of the

(Continues on page 56)

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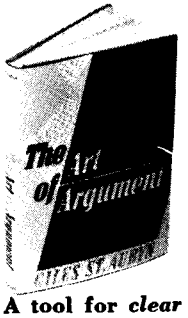

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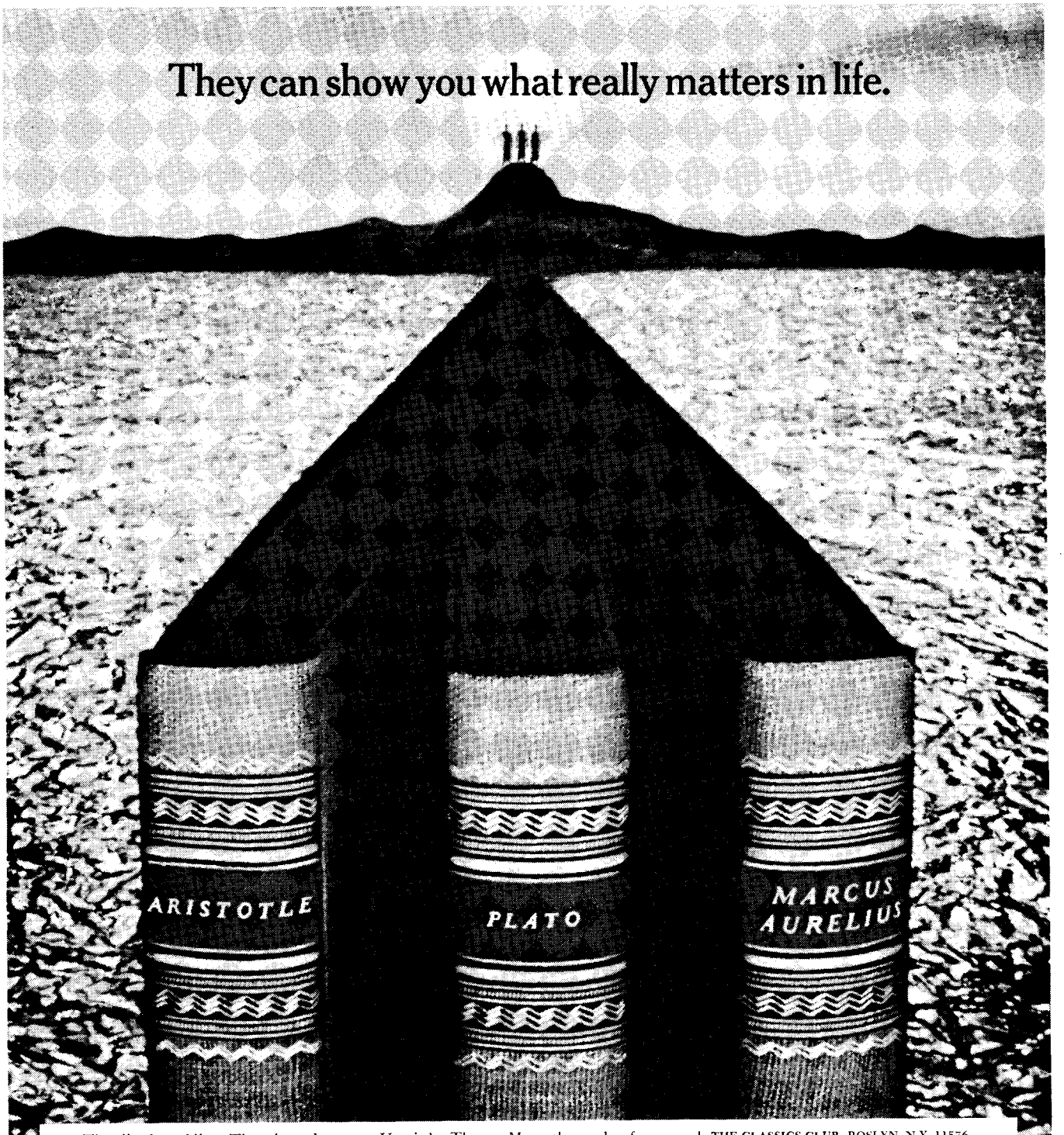

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THE WEEK

■ The Irish government has reworded its forms to "request" payment of taxes instead of "demanding" payment. Very civilized. Persons refusing the request will be asked politely to go to jail.

■ The *New York Times*, badly beaten by the *Washington Post* on Watergate, is out with an exposé of the CIA. The *Times*' headline is revealing: "Huge CIA Operation Reported in U.S. . . ." Reported? Where? In the *New York Times*! ("Extra, Extra. *New York Times* reports that *New York Times* reports that *New York Times* reports . . .") And in the following days it became a sort of bootstrap operation, subsequent *Times* articles reporting the disclosure of previous reports: "In today's issue, the *Times* also quoted . . ." The effort smells of an anti-CIA operation motivated by a routine disparagement of America's imperial postwar responsibilities, by the *Times*' anti-U.S. Seymour Hersh. The gravamen of the complaint is that the CIA had no business watching people within the U.S. In fact the language of the statute creating the Agency does limit it to foreign operations and, of course, we're all strict constructionists now. Domestic spying, to be legal, must be done by the FBI. The point is not that what was done was wrong, but that it was wrong on account of who did it. If the Food and Drug Administration overstepped its boundaries and excluded a dangerous consumer product from the market—would Ralph Nader have apoplexy? Who would cry foul if the federal tea tasters were caught, in flagrante delicto, tasting coffee?

■ It is widely assumed that the unemployment rate measures how many people have lost their jobs, and that a rise in unemployment means there are fewer jobs available. Neither assumption is correct. Of the almost six million unemployed in November, more than 2.4 million were people who had never held a job before, or at least not recently—mostly teenagers and housewives with a working spouse. Another 770,000 had simply quit their former jobs. Payroll employment was actually higher by nearly half a million than a year earlier. Employment in private services, wholesale and retail trade, utilities, transportation, and finance had increased over the year by more than employment had decreased in manufacturing. Government employment rose by 608,000 over the year, but that isn't a net increase in employment, since paying those salaries through taxes and inflation is a major reason why private citizens lack the money to buy new houses, appliances, or cars. To make sure that people can't afford to buy anything this year too, the House passed a $4-billion bill to shift another 111,000 jobs to the public sector.

■ Special New Year's greetings to: downtrodden UAW members, on strike against Boeing in Philadelphia, for mounting a picket on the Delaware River in their power boats; to the City Council of Dayton, Kentucky for making Christmas carolers take out a license; to the Navy, for convicting Seabee Leon Louie despite expert testimony by Soupy Sales that hitting a superior officer with a chocolate cream pie does not constitute assault and battery; to the unnamed London businessman who recently ordered a solid gold toilet seat for $90,000; to Susan Zimbleman, a biological female person of Oakland, for changing her name to Zimblewoman; to the Zoological Garden of Khartoum, Sudan for buying a baby hippo in Germany; and to Mrs. Steve Whitlock of Huntsville, Alabama for greeting her husband, home from six months at sea, dressed as a Christmas present.

■ Gerald Ford's consideration of Edward Levi for the post of Attorney General is regarded by many conservatives, including *Human Events* and Senators John Tower and Roman Hruska, as yet another reason to form a third party in '76. The main charges against Levi are that he is a Democrat, he has never been identified with conservative causes, he lacks practical law enforcement experience, and in his youth he belonged to the Communist-front National Lawyers Guild. Opposed to these are the fine articles he has written for legal journals through the years, which come down solidly against judicial presumption; and his magnificent performance as president of the University of Chicago during the late Sixties, a period that drove so many college presidents out of their jobs or their minds. Levi, in contrast, kept his university from blowing up by the simple expedient of quiet, unflashy firmness, maintaining discipline but never creating martyrs by overreacting. Conservatives whom the crazies prevented from speaking elsewhere were able to speak at Chicago (albeit sometimes to small hand-picked groups). No man who managed a university during those years with honor can be said to lack experience in law enforcement.

■ Dr. Bernard N. Nathanson is beginning to have some doubts. Formerly a militant advocate of abortion on demand, he presided over a clinic that performed 60,000 abortions during his tenure. "I am deeply troubled," he now says, "by my own increasing certainty that I had in fact presided over 60,000 deaths. . . . Abortion must be seen as the interruption of a process that would have produced a citizen of the world. Denial of this reality is the crassest kind of moral evasiveness." Dr. Nathanson thus has come a long way. His recommendation, however: "We must work together to create a moral climate rich enough to provide for abortion, but sensitive enough to accommodate a profound sense of loss." It is not much comfort to 60,000 potential "citizens of the world" that Dr. Nathanson experiences "a profound sense of loss." He has begun to think, but his education has been more expensive than most.

■ Institutional self-criticism and penitence are about as rare as rare can be. It is no surprise, then, that CBS has

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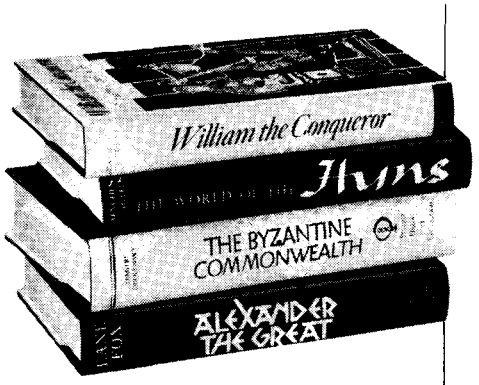

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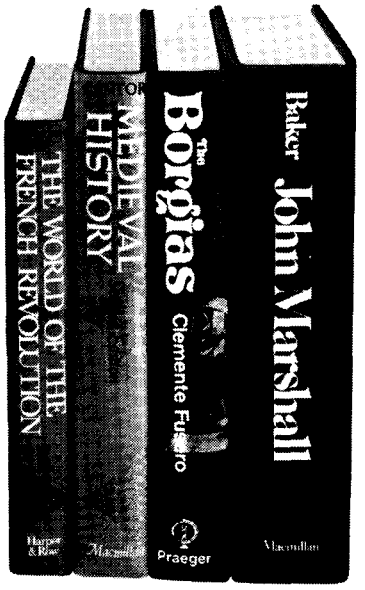

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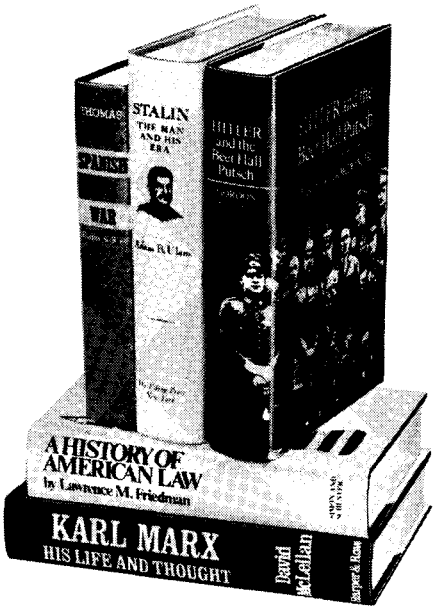

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responded to the Institute for American Strategy's devastating analysis (written, we neglected to mention in our December 6 editorial, by Dr. Ernest Lefever) like the hardened corporate sinner it is. Arthur Taylor, president of CBS, charged that the IAS report is "rooted in presupposition" (apparently the presupposition that Soviet military superiority is a matter of public interest), that the IAS "wants more attention paid to its particular viewpoint in its own particular frame of reference" (there's incisiveness for you), that the study "sought to weigh bias and fairness mathematically" (the study combines the arithmetically obvious with subtle textual analysis). Besides, he pointed out, other networks and even major newspapers didn't do much better. And more's the pity.

■ William Raspberry, a black columnist who writes regularly for the *Washington Post*, possesses the refreshing ability to cut through cant and absurdity when he sees it. In a recent column, he notes that the media have been presenting the busing struggle in Boston as a replica of the integration fight in Little Rock. Then he goes on to point out the *differences*. "Little Rock was firmly rooted in the *Brown* decision that said a school system may not maintain schools open only to whites. . . . The Boston plaintiffs argued, as many of the recent Northern suits have argued, that it is not enough to maintain a unitary school system, that it is also unlawful and wrong to have schools that are identifiably white or black on the basis that a large proportion of the children who attend them are of the same race. . . . There is another interesting difference between Little Rock and Boston. In Little Rock it was clear what the black plaintiffs were after. Central and the other white schools had better facilities, more resources, and better educational programs than the neglected black schools. But it is hard to see what anybody hopes to gain by busing his children into South Boston High. If Southie is significantly better off than Roxbury—culturally, economically, or educationally—it isn't very obvious to me. . . . The evidence is that decisions on where to locate new schools and where to draw attendance boundaries, among others, have been made in ways calculated to minimize racial integration. It may be that these racist actions should be punished. But it is hard to see how using black children as instruments of that punishment does very much for the children. Or for anyone else."

■ It was "unfair," "brutal," "regrettable," a "return to gunboat diplomacy," absolutely stunning in fact to the free-swinging Third Worlders in the UN that the United States and Western Europe would object—object vigorously—to the shenanigans that turned the General Assembly sessions into an auto-da-fé. U.S. Ambassador John Scali warned the "majority" that the support for the United Nations among the American people and the Congress "is eroding" as "the United Nations becomes increasingly irrelevant" and fades "into the shadow world of rhetoric." What remains to be seen is whether the runaway majority will take the warning seriously, or whether it has already been swept too far by its own inflamed rhetoric to stop while the UN is still a going concern. Significantly, the UN-loving *New York Post* serialized Wm. F. Buckley's new book, *United Nations Journal*, over the holidays.

■ Ambassador Daniel Moynihan, finishing his tour of duty in India, had as usual something to say, and as usual it was worth hearing. As samples: "I can understand the fascination with China but I don't understand the corresponding disinterest here. I have been here two years and only one congressman has come here and four senators—one stayed 16 hours and took his wife to the Taj Mahal and the other was on his way to Bangladesh and had to change planes. This is a democracy—a huge Asian democracy—and there aren't many around. Half of the people on earth who live in a society with civil liberties live in India. If that disappeared, you would know it." And: "India's socialist rhetoric makes too little distinction between socialist regimes which provide for individual liberty and those which destroy individual liberty. I wish India would balance her interest in the Soviet Union with the United States and I wish we would balance our interest in China with India."

■ Since the TV crews left, South Vietnam has largely dropped out of global history, but local time still marches on. With the beginning of the dry season at the end of November, the annual Communist offensive began on schedule. It has advanced on the northern, central, and southern fronts, and has taken a number of district capitals; the fighting has stepped up to a level at which casualties on both sides are about as heavy as before what still is called the Ceasefire. There is apparently a division of opinion in the Hanoi leadership between those who favor an all-out offensive to try to bring Thieu down in 1975 and another faction that favors a more drawn out attrition strategy, counting on internal disintegration of the South Vietnamese regime and further decrease of U.S. support and interest. A massive South Vietnamese counteroffensive is excluded by the results

Rocky the Inevitable

I've re-read *Richard II*, and I've looked
At incidents in Edgar Allan Poe.
I've thought of Hansel's witch (she wound up cooked),
And Frankenstein consumed in his château.
Wilde wreaked destruction with a single *mot*,
But Jack the Ripper rather fancied string.
The Borgias ruling in the long ago
Were always partial to the poisoned ring.
Paul Newman did it deftly in *The Sting*;
Bela Lugosi liked to use his teeth.
Young David slew Goliath with a sling,
While werewolves tend to do it on the heath.
Reluctantly, I've put such thoughts aside.
He's as inevitable as the tide.

W. H. von Dreele

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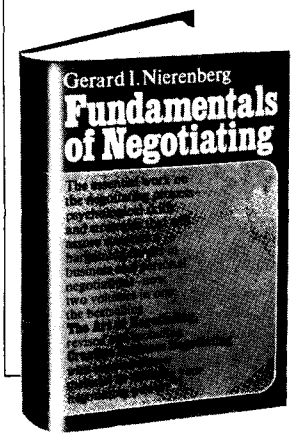

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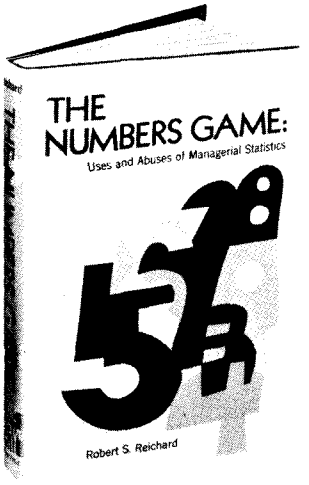

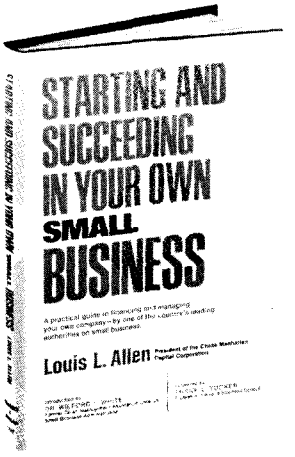

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Cookson, *London Evening News* Rothco

"That's not all, Simpson—you constitute our entire air force commitment east of Suez."

of U.S. policy. Washington never undertook or permitted the construction of munitions factories in South Vietnam, even for small arms. The stocks of ammunition on hand are much too low for a major offensive. Since the U.S. adheres to the one-for-one replacement clause of the Ceasefire Protocol (which has been honored only in the breach by the other side), there is no possibility of building them up.

■ Hedrick Smith, safely home after three years as the *New York Times*' Moscow bureau chief, has finally put the *Times* imprimatur on a perception previously quoted as the opinion of people like Andrei Sakharov: "It is apparent now . . . that the Soviet leadership—with increasing self-confidence and pragmatism—has found a formula for achieving the foreign policy and economic dividends of accommodation with the West without paying the price of relaxing controls at home."

■ Welcome to civilization, Mr. Solzhenitsyn. The Russian novelist is on the masthead of a new magazine, *Kontinent,* which will serve as a forum for dissident East Europeans. It is supported by the money of German publisher Axel Springer, a man whose convictions (anti-Communist and generally conservative) and wealth make him the most hated man in Germany. The hatred, of course, issues from Left intelligentsia, like Günter Grass, the novelist-polemicist, who wrote to Solzhenitsyn and his colleague Andrei Sinyavsky that Springer's whole enterprise is "dangerous to Western democracy. Each day in the publications of the Springer concern, there is disseminated exactly that which you experienced in the Soviet Union . . . [People like Springer] in anti-Communist blindness are altogether prepared to drive out the Communist devil with the Fascist beelzebub . . ." All this because the two Russians had allowed Springer to finance their magazine. "Your point of reference," Sinyavsky wrote in reply, "is a pile of opinionated newspaper clippings which you found unjustifiable. But our point of reference is a mountain of corpses, and among them writers and poets. Can it really be that you equate a Hitler or a Stalin with a distasteful polemic in a newspaper? . . . It is completely beyond my comprehension why you should feel it necessary to speak out against a venture which has not even seen the light of day—to disrupt a magazine whose first number you have not yet read and whose quality you presume to judge only by the imprint of the publishing house." Solzhenitsyn hit even harder, asking why Western writers who were happy when *their* works were published in the USSR by "the state-owned publishers of our executioners" should be so "choosy" about *his* publishers.

■ The American Conservative Union and Young Americans for Freedom are sponsoring a February conference in Washington to discuss the anemic GOP and other topics, such as the economy, national defense, crime. Among the luminaries scheduled to appear: Senators Helms and Buckley; Representatives Ashbrook, Crane, and Bauman. Columnists M. Stanton Evans, Kevin Phillips, Howard Phillips, John Lofton, and William Rusher will happily complement the aforementioned congresspeople. The conference takes place February 13, 14, 15 in Washington's Mayflower Hotel. For information contact the American Conservative Union (422 First Street, S. E., Washington, D. C. 20003).

■ Professor George Katona of the University of Michigan explains that his institution's Research Center has discovered that "in the twenty years prior to 1973, recession was thought to be the greater evil by more people than inflation." This has to be the least enlightening survey result since Lou Harris managed to ask people a dozen questions about the cause of inflation without mentioning federal deficits or the money supply (the winner was "business raising prices"). Would people prefer a 30 per cent inflation to a year in which real output declined by 1 per cent? How about a 300 per cent inflation? Would they even prefer—and this is no idle question—a perpetual double digit inflation to a six-month period in which the unemployment rate threatened to rise two percentage points above the 4.9 per cent postwar average? Without some idea of the magnitudes being compared, a preference for inflation or recession has

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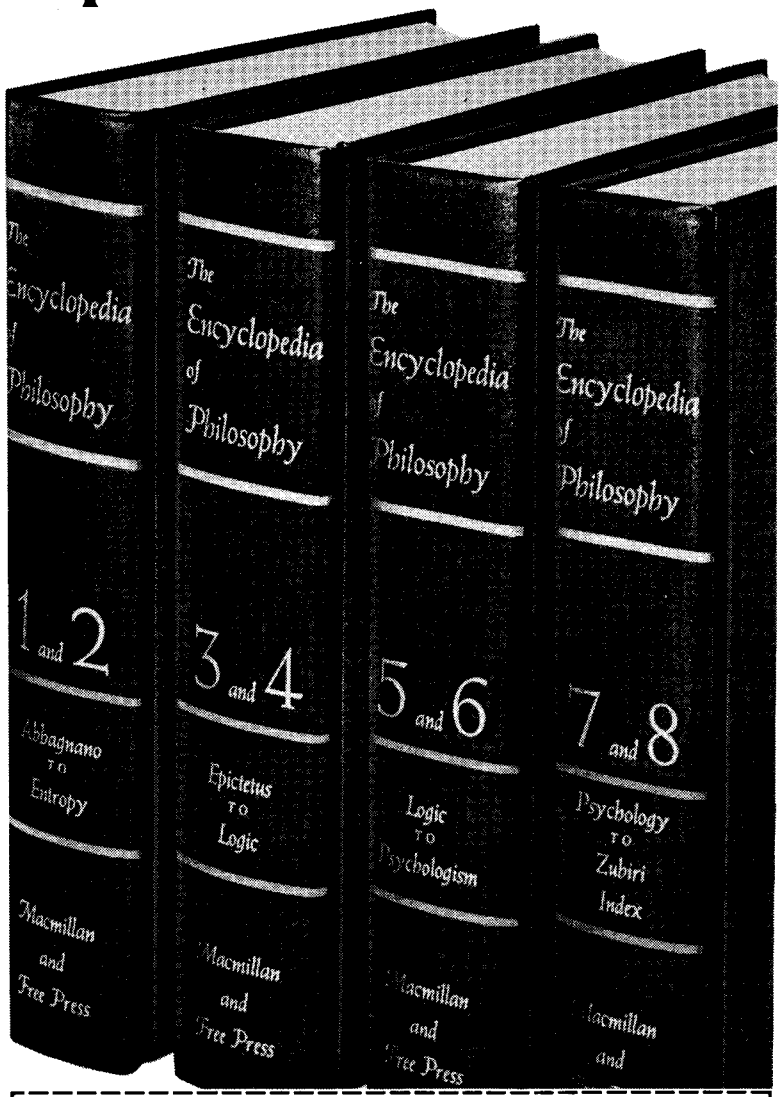

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no meaning. Silly questions will get you silly responses.

■ "But further, the [politicians], being many of them at this moment reckless in their methods as well as weak, seek to direct on to a class known as 'profiteers' the popular indignation against the more obvious consequences of their vicious methods. These 'profiteers' are, broadly speaking, the entrepreneur class of capitalists, that is to say, the active and constructive element in the whole capitalist society, who in a period of rapidly rising prices cannot but get rich quick whether they wish it or desire it or not. If prices are continually rising, every trader who has purchased for stock or owns property and plant inevitably makes profits. By directing hatred against the class, therefore, the [politicians] are carrying a step further the fatal process which the subtle mind of Lenin had consciously conceived. The profiteers are a consequence and not a cause of rising prices."—John Maynard Keynes, *Economic Consequences of the Peace*, 1919.

■ Not all the economic news is bad. It is reported that East Germany has greatly increased its sales of Oriental rugs to Middle Eastern countries.

■ New Jersey Superior Court Judge Merritt Lane Jr. has struck down a century-old law in Ocean Grove, New Jersey, prohibiting riding around or buying newspapers on Sunday, calling the bans "overly broad exercises of police powers." Ocean Grove residents cannot be reached for comment; they're too busy catching up on a hundred years of Sunday comics.

■ Sorry to note that the kitchen of household advice columnist "Heloise" has been destroyed by an explosion, apparently caused by leaking gas fumes.

■ Shortly after we go to press, it will become legal for Americans to buy gold. The public's demand for gold will surely be much (greater/less) than has been generally expected, and the price will definitely (rise/fall/stay the same).

Now Ford's Move

THE ECONOMY. Though the media have been depicting Ford as indecisive or worse, the refusal of the Administration thus far to make dramatic economic moves may in fact have been the wisest course, the least bad option. The Administration has come under intense pressure, of course, to reflate the economy—the strongest pressure coming from the automobile and housing industries and their spokesmen in Congress, and from some press organs. The demand has been that the Administration, along with jacked up appropriations for "public employment," increase the money supply and/or slash taxes in order to stimulate demand for overpriced cars and high interest rate mortgages. The Administration, wisely, has been resisting these pressures.

Recent price indices, moreover, suggest that this resistance—and, though a negative policy, it undoubtedly represents a conscious choice—has been accompanied by some decrease in the inflation rate.

As he returns to the White House for the new year, President Ford will find the proposal for a tax cut commanding wide support. If such a cut is accompanied by budgetary restraint, it would probably be a sensible move at the present juncture, providing a moderate stimulus to demand without greatly adding to inflationary pressures.

Economic decisions do not take place in a political vacuum, and President Ford also confronts the fact that modern electorates have been habituated to the idea that government must "do something" when a problem arises, even if no great clarity exists about what should be done. Inactivity becomes psychologically and politically unacceptable. From this standpoint, too, a tax cut accompanied by budgetary restraint looks like Ford's best option.

ENERGY. In Colorado, as previously at Camp David, the President and his advisers have been considering a variety of options for dealing with the energy problem. Here, too, decisive action will be necessary because of the substance of the problem and also in order to reassure opinion both at home and abroad that political will does exist at the center of the U.S. Government. There is general agreement that U.S. oil consumption will have to drop, and the figures most often mentioned involve a drop of one million barrels per day by the summer of 1975, plus an additional one million barrels per day by the end of 1976. Concerning both the short and the long run, some observations:

1. *Taxes.* President Ford is said to have ruled out a sharp rise in the tax on gasoline at the pump in order to cut consumption. No doubt he has judged such a tax to be politically impossible, even if accompanied by some form of rebate for low and middle income consumers, but there are reports his objections are weakening.

An alternative might be to provide a substantial tax deduction for cars getting better than 25 miles per gallon. This would probably be broadly popular, and would encourage Detroit to move toward the production of more efficient automobiles. Revenue loss could be made up at least in part by a sliding scale of increased taxation on less efficient vehicles.

2. *Development.* A variety of proposals has been put forward for the exploitation of known resources and the development of new ones. A strong probability exists that a floor will be placed under all imported oil, by means of import duties, to guard against the possibility that foreign producers might suddenly drop their prices in order to undercut investors in offshore development, in Alaskan oil, and in extracting oil from shale. Such a

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floor is considered essential to the huge investments that are going to be required. All this means, however, that the price of oil will remain high.

DIPLOMACY.

1. *Western Europe*. Though some progress toward a common energy policy was made at the Martinique conference, the energy crisis remains a potentially fatal threat to the Western alliance. Far more than the U.S., Western Europe is dependent upon oil imports, and therefore is subject to political manipulation by Arab producers. Western unity has been fractured over Middle Eastern policy. Another and more severe oil embargo, likely in the event of another Middle Eastern war, could cause economic collapse and political chaos in several nations of Western Europe.

2. *Middle East*. There is little indication of diplomatic progress, and at least publicly the positions of both sides have hardened. In response to what he views as Israeli intransigence over withdrawing from Arab territory occupied in 1967, the Shah of Iran has shifted to a hard anti-Israel line accompanied by warnings to the U.S. If another war breaks out, as widely expected, the Shah is expected to join the oil cutoff, and perhaps aid the Arabs militarily. If the U.S. has any political leverage to move the Israelis in the direction of compromise, there is no visible sign that it is being employed.

MYOB/OECD

The Paris-based Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development has predicted that U.S. real output will decline by 2 per cent next year, while, contrary to the opinion of most U.S. economists, the rate of inflation will not fall below 10 per cent. The report, according to *Time* magazine, "lays much of the blame for the U.S. difficulties on American reluctance to steer economic policy toward more stimulus." Those who favor a resumption of inflation have seized upon the OECD report to add prestige to their views, but the record of OECD forecasts and policy advice should inspire little confidence. On July 20, 1972, for example, the OECD predicted a slowdown in the U.S. rate of inflation for 1973, and great prosperity for other nations.

Economists Michele Fratianni of Indiana University and John Pattison of the Ontario Economic Council recently presented a detailed critique of OECD literature at a Carnegie-Rochester conference. They found that the Organization's economic views are dominated by a rather extreme form of British Keynesian thinking, largely because the department head is appointed by the British Treasury. Since the OECD is paid by its 24 member governments, it tends to produce views acceptable to a majority of its customers. The majority would now like to see the U.S. inflation accelerate in order to strengthen the buying power of their own currencies. OECD advice is typically vague, according to Fratianni and Pattison, to avoid later criticism, and inflation is blamed on mysterious international or sociological forces in order to take pressure off the member governments. Rather like an international version of the President's Council of Economic Advisers.

The OECD has been advocating the use of wage-price controls since 1962, on the basis of no known evidence, and favored fixed exchange rates until members started floating. Expansionary fiscal policy is generally recommended, regardless of future consequences, whenever output is below some hypothetical "potential." The time horizon is short run in the extreme, never looking beyond the next year. The money supply is totally neglected in favor of watching interest rates or "liquidity." The two countries that have followed the OECD line most consistently are Britain and Italy—hardly models of successful "fine tuning." Japan, by contrast, cut the growth of the money supply to one-third the previous rate after the second quarter of 1973, and the money supply in West Germany was held constant throughout 1973. Recovery in those countries is a testimony to classical medicine rather than to OECD-style stimulus. Canada resumed inflation after a brief fling with relatively tight money in 1973, but production has been nonetheless stimulated by slashing the corporate tax rate and adjusting individual income taxes for inflation. There are lessons to be learned from the success of monetary restraint in Germany and tax cuts in Canada, but the OECD would instead have us follow the uninspiring Italian example.

What Goes Up Must Come Down

Let's say inflation's slow descent
Arrives at 6 or 8 per cent.
(Last time around it hit the floor
At just a smidgen over 4.)
Recession wanes; the Dow ascends,
Then everybody gets the bends
As Arthur Burns resumes the race,
Inflating from a higher base—
Then down we go again until
He starts us marching up the hill.
Some day when he commands, "Resume!"
We're gonna all faw down go boom.

W. H. VON DREELE

Needed: Economics I

The current crop of college students may be the bestest and brightest ever. But then again they may not be. One thing is clear: the majority are neither free market oriented nor particularly astute at understanding the problems and consequences of government interference and control. A nationwide student opinion poll taken by World Research, Inc. of San Diego, California shows that

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the students are, as Ike might have put it, conservative on the issue of individual liberties but liberal on economic issues. They resist government's interference with their personal liberties and do not see interference with the economy as affecting their personal liberties, having failed, apparently, to make the appropriate connection between the two. "What this suggests," says the report, "is that students do not want government interference in *their own* personal lives, but they do not object to government interference in *other people's* personal lives."

"Only 18 per cent strongly believe that the delivery of gas and electric power can best be handled by private enterprise as opposed to the government."

"Almost 37 per cent believe that it would be in the public's best interest to nationalize the oil companies."

"Over 32 per cent of all students are *consistently* anti-free enterprise. . . ."

We suggest that World Research conduct its next poll among faculty members, a) to show that, relatively speaking, students aren't so bad, and b) to demonstrate the sources of student economic illusion.

Institutional Jargon

Educational jargon comes and goes with the seasons, and the new year's "in" phrase is "institutional racism." It was apparently coined by Dallas School Superintendent Nolan Estes during a lawsuit brought by the mother of a black student who was suspended for fighting. In the 1972-73 school year, when the Dallas schools were 61.3 per cent white, 60.5 per cent of the students suspended for disciplinary reasons were black. When asked if he could think of a reason why this should be so, Mr. Estes replied: "Well, we are a white-controlled institution. Institutional racism, racism among individuals, the inability to match learning styles with teaching styles, inappropriate and inadequate support from the home, attitudes of students and parents, all aspects of the environment contribute."

A witness called by the plaintiff, Ruben McDaniel of the University of Texas, testified that it didn't matter so much whether the schools were actually discriminating (i.e., whether the identical offense by a black and a white would provoke the same punishment); what matters is that black children feel themselves discriminated against, which feeling leads to frustration, more hostility, and more punishment.

Buried beneath all the slush, there is a pebble of common sense here. Punishment, in the world at large, is designed to protect innocent members of society; if Texans, say, commit more robberies than the national average, one doesn't pass a law saying that robbery is part of the Texas lifestyle and as such immune from punishment. But a major object of schools is to civilize, which may require more subtlety than imposing three-day suspensions. The more intelligent holders of the institutional-racism theory are claiming, not that the schools punish blacks for offenses for which they would not punish whites, but, rather, that the punishable offenses tend to be "black" offenses, such as truancy and talking back to the teachers. The Dallas school district's efforts to correct the bias—making clear what offenses are punishable; electing more blacks to student government on the high school level; having teachers learn about their children's home life on the grade school level—are fine. But if the blathering about institutional racism doesn't stop, it will eventually lead to the condescending position that blacks cannot help being uncivilized, and must not be credited with the same capacities as whites.

Waiting for the Blast

"We're ready for the explosion and the fallout. We can take it"—Dr. Joseph Horn.

Dr. Horn is a psychiatrist, not a nuclear scientist, but his bunker imagery is in order. After researching the question whether genetics or environment determines IQ level, he has reached the conclusion that a person's genes play the overwhelming role in determining his intelligence. Dr. Horn's procedure was simple: he compared the IQ level of adopted children with the IQs of their adoptive parents and their biological mothers. He found, according to the *National Observer*, "that the IQ scores of adopted children are much more often closely similar to, or identical to, their biological mothers—whom they never saw—than to the scores of their adoptive parents."

The University of Texas psychologist issued his report at a meeting in Rome of the First International Congress of Twin Studies. None of his colleagues disputed his findings, and two other scientists who were also investigating intelligence and heredity reported that they reached the same conclusion in their own research. "Our studies and others," said Dr. Horn, "clearly show that individual differences in intelligence among individuals in Western cultures are primarily determined by genetics. . . . People who refuse to look at these data are causing a lot of harm. They are wasting incredible amounts of time and money keeping us all on the same old track."

The Rome meeting took place in October, and the explosion that Dr. Horn and colleagues anticipated has yet to take place.

Change in Pretoria?

As soon as it became clear that Portuguese rule in southern Africa would come to an end, the South African government of Prime Minister John Vorster appeared to shift to a more conciliatory stance. In the UN and elsewhere South African spokesmen made a concerted effort to appear reasonable in terms of liberal opinion. Toward the end of December, for example, Foreign Minister Hilgard Muller promised in a radio broadcast that substantial changes were in store: "We shall not hesitate," he said, "to do away with humiliating measures and practices which harm good relations between white and nonwhite and which have nothing to do with the maintenance of our own identity and sovereignty."

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Pretoria also exerted pressure on the Ian Smith regime in Rhodesia to reach a settlement with African nationalist forces, and in due course a number of long-jailed African leaders were released and talks commenced. Manifestly, with the end of Portuguese rule in Mozambique and Angola, the previous South African policy of maintaining a cordon of white-ruled buffer states around its borders no longer made sense, and Vorster immediately drew the logical conclusion for exposed Rhodesia.

Internally, the Vorster regime has speeded up the process of creating autonomous African homelands, or Bantustans, and it may also follow from the new policy line that Pretoria will offer some formula for compromise on the Southwest Africa issue.

Appearances aside, all of this does not necessarily signify any final triumph for "world opinion," or even suggest that the Vorster government is operating out of a new sense of political and strategic weakness.

It may even suggest the opposite. Though it has been little noted, South Africa remains the world's leading producer of gold, the price of which has risen dramatically. What this in turn implies is the desirability of better relations between the U.S. and South Africa. It is worth noting that a large number of U.S. mining companies have been prospecting and exploiting mineral deposits in the northern Cape area—and, significantly, that the South African government has taken the decision to triple the size of the Simonstown port facilities.

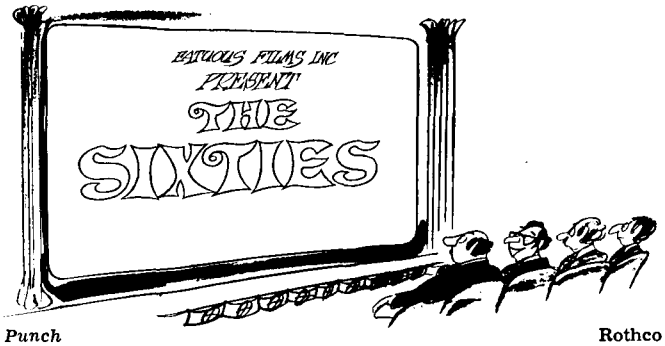
The conciliatory moves made in the racial area, therefore, almost certainly are designed to make closer relations politically possible between South Africa and the U.S.—are designed, that is, with American public opinion very much in mind. If Arabian oil, because of its economic importance, gives the Arabs political leverage in the West, South African gold promises to provide comparable leverage because of its implications for international finance. Especially because the second largest producer of gold is the Soviet Union.

Here It Comes!

[This is the thirteenth consecutive edition of *NR*'s famous forecasts of Things to Come, a happy haruspical handsel unmatched for accuracy and felicity, and couched in nouns and verbs of genuine distinction. But hark! The oracle speaks.]

In January the President—any January, any President—will, for the thirteenth consecutive year, present an almost balanced budget to the Congress. The next 12 months of budgetary planning will be spent explaining the unforeseen—unforeseen by *them*—rises in the estimated budget deficits. Toward the end, when it is time for the President to offer his next almost balanced budget to the Congress, the "final explanation" will have been announced from the Explanations Secretary: the deficit was planned, after all, to offset the recession.

In February the President will present to Congress,



Punch Rothco

"It's a two-hour montage of price tags—it will drive them mad with nostalgia."

as he has for the last ten years or so, his Annual Economic Message, which will declare that we have not been in a recession, and that thanks to his clever policies the recession is ended. It was a slumpflation following an unprecedented stagboom, and the concomitant boomcession augured an inevitable reboomslump, as had been predicted earlier.

That pesky drought that set in the summer after the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 will, surprisingly, bring about the 58th consecutive annual crop failure in the Communist bloc. [Ed. note: this forecast has been nominated for the Pulitzer Award for Economic Forecasting.] [Auth. note: the award has been blocked by a self-serving coterie of sore losers in the Kremlin.] [Ed. note: get outta here; these brackets are mine.]

In mid-January the editor of *NR* will be issued a new set of brackets, with distinctive design and appropriate weight and fineness. Counterfeit bracketing will become more difficult, and consequently more rare, and accordingly more valuable. It would be pointless to follow this line of reasoning further. It is eating its tail. *Après vous.*

Mr. Ehrlichman will testify, through tears, that he never discussed amnesty with the Argentine Firecracker of recent memory, or with John Mitchell also of memory. Mr. Haldeman, his eyes red and puffy, his cheeks wet and gleaming, will testify that he never saw Mr. Ehrlichman crying at all, in the White House or elsewhere. The Argentine Firecracker, sobbing, will testify that she is a professionally trained dancer and would never think for one moment of going that awful hangout road. Mr. Nixon, weeping, will depose that he never saw any member of his Administration purposefully crying while on official duty. Gerald Ford, bawling, will testify that he pardoned Mr. Nixon on the advice of the Salinity Secretary, who had warned that the levels in the White House had approached the point of questionable toxicity. Judge Sirica, if there is one, whining and whimpering, will defend his conduct of the trial.

The Congress of the United States, in a sudden switch, will be turned into a pillar of salt.

The following people will disappear: Diane von Furstenberg, Nelson Rockefeller, Robert Redford, Arthur Goldberg, the Secretary General of the United Nations (you know his name), President Smith of the Ford Motor

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Company, that smartass cop at the Tidal Basin, and the entire faculty of Harvard University, not necessarily in this order.

Best flick: *The Trial of Billy Jack*. Most sensitive directing: *The Mistrial of Billy Jack*. Most wanted actor: *Billy Jackass*. Best juvenile performance: Marlon Brando in *The Ass of Billy Jack*. Best legal documentary: *The Pons Asinorum of Billy Jack*. Best flick on dietary laws: *The Roast Suckling Pig of Billy Jack*.

The following countries will collapse: England, Chile, Ceylon, Arabia Deserta, Borneo, Abyssinia, the western section of the newly discovered Terra Incognita, virtually all of the Weimar Republic, sections of downtown Freud, the middle countries of Weltschmerz, and so on and so forth—the same ones, in general, that collapsed last year.

Exactly 47 city dwellers will write books or newsletters telling you how to survive the onrushing disaster. How to build a log cabin. How to skin a squirrel. How to plant beans. How to pop your gold coins in a woodchuck hole. How to make gunpowder and bullets. How to apply a tourniquet, saw off a leg, arrange a decent burial, and other such frontier lore. As soon as all the Smart Money has moved into woodchuck holes in the northern forests, stragglers in the open country will notice that the Mississippi River is still flowing. A report from the field will mention the early evidence of sap in the trees. Investors who haven't traded in their thermometers for gold bullion will observe a warming trend in the daily readings. Very old persons will recall how it used to be—when the warm weather came, when the birds came, when the crops rose up in the fields.

Yea, this very year shall have its harvest. All daisies and lilies.

W. F. RICKENBACKER

After Kansas City

Wallpaper covers up the cracks,
But angry blacks and gals in slacks
And kids who used to scream, "Impeach!"
Are playing back Miami Beach.

The quota system's set in place;
The formula is age and race.
Though old-time pols and labor screech,
They'll never see Miami Beach.

So watch McGovern chart the course
As cohorts beat the same dead horse.
Then tune in Ronald Reagan's speech
On cuckoos at Miami Beach.

W. H. VON DREELE

Walter Lippmann, RIP

Walter Lippmann was the foremost "newspaperman"—as he enjoyed defining himself—of this century, the outstanding pretelevision "media person," and one of the few journalists who has become in his own right a prominent public figure. He was born in 1889 as the only child of prosperous, literate parents sprung from the German Jewish stock that came to New York in the early nineteenth century and produced so many notable merchants, financiers, professionals, jurists, and, ultimately, politicians. He was educated in private schools and at Harvard, where William James and George Santayana catalyzed what proved to be a lifelong fondness for philosophy, and Graham Wallas fostered an interest in Fabian socialism that left Lippmann with a belief in progressive social programs and an internationalist global outlook as his attachment to its doctrinaire principles receded.

From college Lippmann went to work briefly for the progressive muckraker Lincoln Steffens, got out his first book (*A Preface to Politics*) in 1913, and in 1914 joined Herbert Croly in starting the left-liberal *New Republic*. There he supported Woodrow Wilson's World War I policies, and he went to the Peace Conference on Colonel House's staff. Lippmann is said to have drafted several of Wilson's Fourteen Points. He resigned from the Versailles mission when he failed to dissuade Wilson from supporting intervention in Russia on the side of the Whites.

Back in New York, he continued writing for the *New Republic*, then became editorial writer and later editor on the lively and combative newspaper, *The World*. In 1931, when *The World* folded, Lippmann began his famous column, "Today and Tomorrow," in the Republican *Herald-Tribune*, "to provide," he explained, "in its ample pages a little corner of mild left wing philosophy to offset its own conservative columns." In 1938 he moved to Washington to be closer to the center of power, leaving behind his first wife (after divorcing whom he had married Helen Byrne Armstrong, formerly wife of the editor of *Foreign Affairs*), much of his earlier socialism (which the later New Deal measures had led him to distrust), and the liveliness that was frequent in his earlier prose. His column spread to more than 200 papers at home, and was the first American column to be published and noticed regularly in Europe. From his Washington base and on his many trips abroad, he became acquainted with the major figures in the public life of the age.

Perhaps the most discerning interpretation of the role of "Today and Tomorrow"—which was Lippmann's primary and unique achievement—was given in a series of *New Yorker* cartoons, several of them by James Thurber, that portrayed well-to-do suburbanite couples, one of whom (usually the wife) is reading the Lippmann column and making some such remark as: "Lippmann scares me this morning," or: "Of course, I only take a cup of coffee in the morning. A cup of coffee and Walter Lippmann is all I need." Lippmann became the Columnist Laureate of the American Establishment. The Amer-

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ican upper middle class has always been tongue-tied about public affairs. Lippmann developed a sensitive and resonant skill at articulating the otherwise amorphous establishment ideas, prejudices, qualms, and feelings. His suburbanites read his column in order to find out what they were thinking. As the *New Yorker* cartoons suggest, the readers felt reassured and ready to meet the day even when he scolded them or prophesied trouble (he never went in for Alsopian doomsaying): the reproof or prophecy was in familiar ideological wrapping, with no uncomfortable loose ends. The effect was really from the usually abstract and somewhat ponderous rhetoric rather than from any substance, which was often enough too vague or hedged to pin down in any case. Who of his readers can now remember many of the specific positions he took on this and that? Or, for that matter, how flatly wrong he proved to be on so many issues? It was soothing and just highbrow enough without lofting over to avant garde, to read such sentences as: "To perpetuate the Republic in this epoch of war and revolution it is now more than ever necessary that we maintain the marriage of Jeffersonian liberty and Hamiltonian authority." With that to start the day with, we don't need coffee, we need a drink.

Lippmann brought "Today and Tomorrow" to an end in 1967. 1938-1967: it is surely not mere coincidence that these are the years during which the United States, through its intervention in World War II, reached its crest as a proto-imperial superpower and, with its immersion in the Vietnam mud, began what more and more looks like its historical decline. Walter Lippmann, as Columnist Laureate, was in some curious twentieth century way the Vergil at the imperial court.

Mrs. A. E. Bonbrake, RIP

No one was more enthusiastic about the founding of NATIONAL REVIEW, nearly twenty years ago, than a middle-aged housewife, Mabel (her husband and contemporaries called her "Patsy") Bonbrake, who lived with her husband in Queens, New York. Above all things, Mrs. Bonbrake was a—correspondent. She wrote letters to her congresssmen and to her senators; to the princes of the world, spiritual and temporal; to her friends and her foes; to her beloved (until it became squishy soft on Communism, religious orthodoxy, and world federalism) local parochial paper, the *Brooklyn Tablet*. She cannot have written more letters to anybody in the course of her life than to the editor of NATIONAL REVIEW, who was a protégé, a friend; and, in the last two years, something of a retrograde. That happened when NATIONAL REVIEW published a symposium on marijuana, and WFB came out in favor of decriminalization. Mrs. Bonbrake's ire, which was always specific, blunt, and palpable, was instantly forthcoming. There had been minor and a couple of major differences over the years. (She was incensed that NATIONAL REVIEW published, posthumously, an unfriendly assessment of Senator Joe McCarthy by Whittaker Chambers.) But such was her enthusiasm for NATIONAL REVIEW that she was invited to serve on its board of directors beginning the first year, and this she did for 15 years, until the long subway ride from Queens made her attendance too much of a physical burden. But the flow of advice, of congratulations, of sympathy over any of life's endless vicissitudes, personal and ideological, was uninterrupted. Some while ago I suddenly realized that at least one month had gone by without hearing from her, and I was sore afraid, and wrote and asked what was the matter. What was the matter was that I had not sent her a Christmas card. I explained by return mail that my wife and I had stopped sending Christmas cards, that not even our own mothers had got one. She sniffed that that was an insufficient explanation, that when Christmas comes around, she expects a card. So that next Christmas I sent her the largest I could find. The one after, enjoying the experience in escalation, I sent her a blary radio. The following year, I sent her a noncommissioned portrait of me slightly larger than Rosa Bonheur's *Horse Fair*. A few months later she cried Uncle, in effect, and wrote tactfully that she feared the painting would suffer from the moisture in her apartment. Last Christmas Eve I thought, My God, I forgot to send Mrs. Bonbrake a Christmas card! and reached for the telephone. Western Union was busy; and it slipped my mind. On Christmas Day, at noon, visiting her grandchildren, suddenly her militant heart stopped beating. On behalf of the board of directors of NATIONAL REVIEW, of my entire family whom she befriended; and above all in gratitude for all her kindnesses to me, I extend sympathy to her family, record the grief we all feel, and the gratitude for the twenty years' devotion she gave us. —WFB

Notes & Asides

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Many years ago, I remember hearing of an organization called the Invisible Hand Society. Does such an organization really exist? If so, what does its emblem look like? And is it the sort of organization a thinking man like myself would want to have anything to do with? Is it affiliated with the Committee to Horsewhip Jack Anderson? Sincerely,

Felix Tilley
Van Nuys, Calif.

Dear Mr. Tilley: The Invisible Hand Society most definitely does exist, but access to it is difficult, and possible only through: Commodore Donald Lipsett, Hillsdale

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Get with It, Henry

Christmas cards are half price now.
White sales sometimes start a row.
Copper's down and sugar's less.
Junk's on sale at Grant's and Kress.
Even ladies of the night
Advertise a price that's right.
If he had some fire sales,
Pintos wouldn't drag their tails.

W. H. VON DREELE

College, Hillsdale, Michigan. It is one of the virtues of the Invisible Hand Society that it teaches you that, really, you don't *have* to think. . . . No, it was not affiliated with the other committee you have in mind. But get that one straight: it was: The Committee to Horsewhip *Drew Pearson*. Since the sins of the father should not be visited on the son, the Committee disbanded when Jack Anderson took over. The old board convened when Jack Anderson published the National Security minutes during the Bangladesh war, but decided to give him a second chance. —WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

The mass of conservatives, those beyond your coterie, with their friends and relatives, can't take *NR*'s potpourri: its smell of faded elegance, its après Nous le déluge, its frequent lack of relevance bordering on subterfuge.

They need a voice that rings sincere, will tell their woes, give them solace, know and share the common fear. So, they're listening to Wallace.

They want to know bluntly where they're at, this disenfranchised proletariat.

While this land endures,

Faithfully yours,
G. A. Di Giovanni
Stamford, Conn.

Dear Mr. Di Giovanni: Tell your friends to read *NR*. Maybe they won't understand it, but if they don't, they won't understand where they're at. Yours cordially, —WFB

■ HOW THEY'RE DESCRIBING ARCHITECTURE COURSES AT MR. JEFFERSON'S UNIVERSITY IN VIRGINIA.

Architecture 801 Intentions R. D. Dripps

This semester will evolve as an argument against functionalist theory, as an idea not a symbolic essence, which has tended toward a diagramatic abstraction and consequent reduction of the necessary complex of needs and expectations of human existence. This simplification has been based on the premise of utility, and economy allied with an emerging but vaguely defined social directive as primary form determinants. Moreover, this attitude has embraced the reduction of the temporal dimension to the present with the resultant stress of immediacy and change at the expense of historical and cultural tradition and the more significant basic unchanging condition of man.

There will be an attempt by limiting the scope of architecture to architecture itself, to more comprehensibly study the elaboration of architectural values in terms of the semantic as well as symtactic aspects of form.

This will involve postulation of some of the fundamental metaphysical themes of man's "being in the world" and the corresponding search for the formal means of expressing these. To attain these goals we will concentrate on the creation of artifacts which initially are programmatically less determinate yet which stand for the more institutionalized patterns of human relatedness.

If "design is the arrangement and metamorphosis of objects to correspond to the ambiguous demands of human consciousness" (Powley), implicit in this idea is an elaborative rather than a reductive approach to design. Therefore the "program" will become more secure through the generation of the artifact as opposed to existing complete prior to the design process.

This process of generation then assumes increased significance not only as producing a finite object but as possessing meaning unto itself, and the subsequent dialogue between relationship and object, meaning and form will become the content of the semester's work.

■ "MARIJUANA FOUND HORMONE HAZARD," said the *New York Times* headline. Uh, that is, sort of. The effects, the story went on, "may be" more serious "than has been thought." Depressed levels of testosterone have been detected in "some" men who habitually smoke the stuff—but the evidence is only "preliminary" and the inferences "speculative." Some of the new findings are "contradictory" and leave "more questions unanswered than answered." Dr. Robert L. DuPont, director of two or three federal institutes on something or other, puts it bluntly: "The health consequences are unknown at this point and potentially quite severe." Or potentially quite unsevere, depending on how you look at it. From which it follows that maybe girls shouldn't smoke it, and especially maybe boys shouldn't either; and conversely, maybe it's okay for boys and *especially* maybe it's okay for girls. Thanks for the tip, Doc.

Bill: Inasmuch as I don't smoke it, don't approve of it, and don't even care to see it decriminalized, I know you'll understand my joking is limited to federal equivocations of the portentous sort. Do you think this will be taken as covert advocacy though? If so I'll rewrite it. Joe [Sobran].

Joe: I don't know. Let's just publish and see what happens. —WFB

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Fidelity Schmidelity

LOOKING BACK over the smoldering debris, it has to be called "the year of Watergate." Obviously, the news "story" of the year was the destruction of the Nixon Administration. But, then, actually, that is not quite accurate. The casualty was the Nixon *Presidency*. That's different. And the Nixon Presidency was an empty and cracked shell on January 1, 1974. The impeachment machinery was clanking along with deceptive slowness. The crucial decision—the one that determined the end of the drama—had been made six months earlier, in July 1973, when Mr. Nixon decided not to have a bonfire with his tapes. If he had had a bonfire, he would have lit the national Christmas tree last month, as President. But he decided to keep the tapes—the one option he really did not have. So the "story" of 1974 was just the liquidation of the Nixon Presidency.

But it would be imprecise, and would obscure an important point, to say that the Nixon Administration was destroyed. Some of the finest, most formidable men in the Nixon Administration are still on the job, which is nice, because they are exceptional men. At the end of this brutal year, in which Mr. Nixon suffered all—but only—the slings and arrows he brought upon himself, it is not only charitable but accurate to say this for Mr. Nixon: he brought some remarkable talent into government.

Whatever you think of Henry Kissinger's policies and accomplishments and personal characteristics, he unquestionably is a man of substance, as is his rival, Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger, probably the most intelligent and subtle man ever to hold that office. The abrasive, combative William Simon, Secretary of the Treasury, is a remarkably convinced and convincing advocate of the proposition that government is too much with us. And Elliot Richardson, 15 months after the "Saturday Night Massacre," is on his way to the Court of St. James's, there, perhaps, to receive a call, in, say, eight months, telling him that Mr. Kissinger has had enough and that he would make a crackerjack Secretary of State.

Years hence historians will be amazed that Mr. Nixon, whose taste in close friends and confidants ran to anticosmopolitans and thugs, brought men of such high caliber to Washington. For having done so, the Republic, and the Republican Party, owes him respect, albeit puzzled respect.

Which is more than one owes to the Democratic majority in the House Judiciary Committee. The year did not end soon enough for the Committee to escape with its halo still glittering in place. A dozen Committee Democrats voted against the confirmation of Nelson Rockefeller as Vice President, and when their arguments were stripped of rhetoric and reduced to their dismal essence, there was nothing left but an incantation: Rockefeller is "too rich" to be allowed to serve as Vice President. Remarkable.

IN JULY the Committee was hailed, and not without reason, as both proof and defender of the Founding Fathers' wisdom. The Committee was praised for its fidelity to constitutional principles. Fidelity schmidelity. A majority of the Committee's Democratic majority cast votes that violated the letter and spirit of the Constitution. That document is specific and unambiguous—even a congressman can understand what it says—about the qualifications for being President or Vice President. The document does not mention that a candidate must possess wealth, or must not possess wealth. But the dozen Democrats voted, in effect, to amend the Constitution. The Founding Fathers considered but rejected the idea of a property qualification for holding public office. The dozen Democrats voted for a property *disqualification* in Rockefeller's case. They were saying, in effect, that someone as rich as Rockefeller has fewer rights than other Americans. He does not have the right to serve in high office.

But enough of this looking back in disgust. It is time to look ahead in dismay.

At the beginning of 1973, with Republicans purring contentedly about "four more years" for Mr. Nixon, the Democrats were bewildered. Things have changed, and they will change again before January 1977, when some gaggle of happy warriors is purring contentedly about "eight more years." The pardon Mr. Ford said he would not give has been given and the gasoline tax Mr. Ford said "we are not going to have . . . as long as I am in the White House" is coming soon. And today, more than at any time since 1940, the future of American politics is certain to be determined by things other than the wishes of American politicians.

By the end of this year we will know if Mr. Ford is going to run again. This will depend, first of all, on Mrs. Ford's health. Mr. Ford is not one of those men—Washington is full of them—who would not let the health of a loved one inhibit his political life. Mr. Ford will also be influenced by the state of the economy. A year from now it will be clear to one and all that the oil consuming nations cannot force down the prices charged by the oil exporting nations. Hence we will have learned if Britain and Italy really are going to become "bankrupt" (whatever that means) as is frequently said by people who cannot say exactly what they mean. And we will learn if the U.S. economic "recovery," such as it is, can withstand the troubles experienced by our trading partners, who are much more dependent than we are (especially after we have lived for a while with our gasoline tax) on imported oil.

The U.S. recovery will be the product of a tax cut. More quickly than you can say "the 5 per cent surcharge on income taxes for families with gross incomes over $15,000 is dead," the idea of a tax cut for individuals and corporations has swept Washington. There is an edgy consensus in business and labor leaders that a tax cut is the way to fight inflation and recession simultaneously. Twelve months from now, as we look back over the smoldering debris, we probably will be wondering what went wrong. □

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Distinctions Within Distinctions

The Protracted Conflict

JAMES BURNHAM

A COUPLE OF MONTHS ago [*NR*, Oct. 25] I suggested that in our time it is more useful to classify the forms of government on the initial basis of a triple rather than dual distinction: *totalist/authoritarian/democratic* rather than *dictatorial/democratic*. I defined the triple distinction as follows:

"Democratic nations, within a range that varies from nation to nation, are politically, culturally, and intellectually pluralist, and have some sort of representative political institution (parliament, assembly, congress) chosen by popular vote through an electoral process to which opponents of the incumbent administration have access.

"Both authoritarian and totalist [=totalitarian] governments are dictatorships, and in both the ruling cadre exercises a political monopoly . . . The distinctive feature of a totalist regime is the integration of all aspects of life—economic, cultural, social, even personal—into the single power system. Under an authoritarian government, some aspects are exempt, . . . or partially exempt."

The Finer Points

To which, further:

1: These, like all distinctions, are clearer in the abstract than in concretion. No actual regime could be 100 per cent totalist—men being ornery, there will always be *some* deviation from the totalist monolith. This means that the line between "totalist" and "authoritarian" can be blurred. At just what point does a spreading authoritarianism become totalist, or a loosening totalism become authoritarian? Is Libya totalist? Is Yugoslav Communism nontotalist? A 100 per cent democracy would be anarchy, and an anarchic society cannot actually exist. Every actual democracy will have authoritarian elements. Is Ceylon a democracy? Is Mexico authoritarian?

Then there are hybrid regimes hard to place on the scale. South Africa is within the democratic range so far as its white citizens are concerned. It is formidably authoritarian (though not quite totalist) in relation to its nonwhites. Such an amalgam is not without precedent: South Africa's political structure is similar to the democracy of ancient Athens.

In close situations the designation may be arbitrary, but that does not destroy the usefulness of the distinction. China and the Soviet Union are totalist. Switzerland and Canada are democratic. Brazil and Peru are authoritarian. These are not semantic quibbles.

2. The triple distinction is independent of the Left-Right distinction. Totalist regimes can be Left (Soviet Union, China) or Right (Nazi Germany). Indeed, there have been totalist regimes to which the modern Left-Right category does not apply: theological regimes, for example, as in ancient Egypt, pre-Columbian Peru, and the Byzantine Empire.

Authoritarian regimes can also be Left (Peru today, Syria, most African nations, Burma, Chile a year ago) or Right (Brazil, Nicaragua, South Vietnam and South Korea, Spain, Chile today). So too democracies, though in their case it is nowadays mostly a question of degrees of Leftness. Switzerland, Belgium, West Germany, and the U.S. are, if not Right absolutely, at any rate Rightward of, say, Sweden, New Zealand, and Iceland.

3. The social composition of the groups holding power in modern authoritarian regimes varies widely. Sometimes it is the military (or a branch of the military, or an intellectualized—Nasserite—military cadre), and the military must always be included. Along with the military it can be the trade unions (Peronism), sectors of big business and banking (Brazil, South Korea, pre-Castro Cuba, pre-1974 Portugal), tribal communities (Africa), intellectuals and professionals (many of the Third World authoritarian regimes; in fact, most current authoritarian regimes and movements).

4. The prewar authoritarian regimes were nearly all Rightist, often incorporating the Church and big landowners along with the military and sectors of big business and finance in the ruling stratum. It was in this context that the still prevailing ideas and attitudes about authoritarianism were formed. This, plus mistaken analyses of Nazism and Peronism (partly implanted by the Communists), was the background of the liberal preference for finding the enemy on the Right. Liberalism is correlated with democracy. Communism notably aside—and Communism was not then an imminent threat in the Western democracies—liberalism's primary enemy was in truth on the Right.

But in this as in so much, liberalism is out of phase with history. Although today's authoritarianism can come from either Right or Left, it has come more frequently, and is more threatening, from the Left. By directing its fire toward the enemy on the Right, liberalism leaves democracy exposed to envelopment from the Left.

5. In exercising their political monopoly, both Left and Right authoritarian regimes can be, and usually are, harsh and often brutal. Both have a tendency to extend their hold to other, nonpolitical spheres—a tendency, that is, toward totalism. However, this tendency is stronger in Left than in Right authoritarianism. The Right usually allows a greater measure of economic freedoms—especially the humble, basic consumer freedoms—and is less likely to interfere with religious freedom. Moreover, there would seem to be a greater probability of Left authoritarianism's evolving into (Left) totalism than of Right authoritarianism's evolving into (Right) totalism. Powerful Left totalist regimes, promoting totalism, exist today; there are no Right totalist regimes nor signs of one. Leftist economic measures prepare a foundation for generalized statism. Nontotalist Left doctrine overlaps totalist (Communist) doctrine. Left authoritarian regimes—even some Left democratic regimes—are willing to accept totalists in the government.

6. The Greek philosophers are again confirmed in their conclusion that democracy's defects lead toward its replacement by despotism. In Chile yesterday and Portugal today the issue posed is not democracy *v.* dictatorship, but Left *v.* Right authoritarianism. So it may be tomorrow in Italy, Spain, and Greece. And where may it not be the day after tomorrow? □

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CHARLES D. HOBBS

How Ronald Reagan Governed California

An appraisal of Ronald Reagan as governor of California should start with the 1971 welfare reform negotiations between his administration and the liberal Democrats who controlled the California Legislature. The objective of the negotiations was to construct a welfare reform act, the legislative component of Reagan's celebrated welfare reform program. The Reagan team had just detected some legal "quicksand" in the language drafted by the Legislature's staff. If left in the bill, the language would undo a major element of the reform that Reagan had proposed and Assembly Speaker Bob Moretti, under tremendous public pressure, had reluctantly agreed to. The legislators and their staff members, opposed to any welfare reform at all and trying hard to soften its impact, argued that the language was inconsequential; the Reagan team insisted that the wording be changed to reflect the Reagan-Moretti agreement. An impasse was reached and one of the legislators, whose self-appointed role was to maintain an atmosphere that would encourage compromise, called for a recess and sent for food and drink. Warmed by his own hospitality and trying to put the situation in perspective, he commented: "It's too bad the people elect an ideologue like Reagan. They should stick with political whores, like me." His candor broke the ice and negotiations were resumed; the questionable language was redrafted to satisfy the "ideologue."

For anyone who takes seriously Ronald Reagan's 1965 statement that "nothing is more opposed to creativeness than bureaucracy," the chronicling of his governorship of California might be expected to recall the Battle of Gettysburg. That it doesn't is a credit to Reagan as a man. He had the best opportunity in our time to test the practical value of the conservative principles underlying the belief that uncontrolled growth and power of government is the greatest threat to our freedom and, therefore, to our nation and lives. He consciously strove to take advantage of that opportunity, and the future usefulness of these principles depends upon our willingness to examine honestly and critically the outcome of Reagan's eight years as leader of the largest and most typical of the United States. I hope that this article will serve as the beginning of that examination.

There are three impediments to such an examination. The first is the uncertainty produced, or at least reinforced, by the national events of the last six months—Nixon's resignation, his pardon by Ford, Rockefeller's ordeal as he sought the Vice Presidency, and the prospect of a full scale depression. It is an awkward time to analyze a current political career.

The second impediment is the budding crop of superficial appraisals celebrating the retirement of California's "citizen-politician." Clearly California and Reagan are parting friends, and the consensus, except at the raveled fringes of the political fabric, is that both have profited, but the state more so, from their eight-year association. California enters 1975 with a constantly decreasing welfare population receiving constantly increasing benefits; with financially and technically sound energy and water supply systems; with enforced environmental standards that are both lowering air and water pollution and preserving an extraordinary range of recreational opportunities; with a superb highway system that has become an orderly segment of an integrated transportation system responsive to both state and local needs; with $1 billion in property tax relief funds disbursed each year to local governments; with no more state employees than eight years ago, even though in that time state spending has doubled and state services have multiplied; with a public university system in which teaching, learning, and research have replaced violent confrontation and preparation for armed revolution; and with a $500-million budget surplus to buffer California against the coming hard times.

Even Reagan's enemies will agree, publicly if they can afford to and privately if they can't, that these assets are mainly the products of the personal and political strength, vision, and persistence of Ronald Reagan. That is why, as this article is being written, journalists like Lou Cannon of the *Washington Post* and Tom Goff of the *Los Angeles*

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Times have already published positive assessments of Reagan's performance as governor. Their theme seems to be that "he did a lot better than most of us thought he would." Heady praise from a generally liberal working press —unless one realizes that even the most liberal of the Sacramento press corps has succumbed to Reagan's unique combination of charm, intelligence, and integrity, and until one remembers that most of the people who try to mold others' opinions considered him, in 1966, a woefully inexperienced and unintelligent reactionary, preprogramed and made up to look like a gubernatorial candidate by Hollywood, Madison Avenue, and the money men of Southern California. Pat Brown, the incumbent governor, underestimated both the voters and Reagan and lost to him by almost a million votes. Only the people saw and understood in 1966 that Reagan wrote his own speeches and meant what he said. The opinion leaders are just now catching up with the people.

The third and most difficult impediment in appraising Ronald Reagan's performance is the conservative's desire to find his administration faultless or, avoiding that gross pitfall, to see what flaws there are through conservatively tinted glasses. Watching the rising tide of bureaucracy we are tempted to succumb to the vision of the man on the white horse. Mythology is full of such would-be national saviors, like the mad Irish hero Cuchulain who tried to beat back the sea with his sword. Reagan is Irish as well as conservative. Only four months ago he said: "I have also learned that politics, which is often called the second oldest profession, has a great similarity to the first."

We must ask the hard questions, not only about Reagan the man, but about Reagan the governor. How well did he put into practice the principles he enunciated so well just before the 1964 election in his famous "speech"? Did his accomplishments match his plans, or was he forced to bend principles to meet the political realities of a state that transacts more business than all but six or seven nations? Was he able to attract people to develop programs consistent with his principles? How often was he blocked from even greater accomplishments by people who, although personally loyal, either did not understand how or did not share the desire to reduce to practice his principles? How effective was he in the give and take of political warfare, where compromise is supposedly the only way to succeed? How well did he manage a large bureaucracy while admittedly holding views strongly antithetical to bureaucratic purposes and practices? Finally, is there any meaning in his experience for the future of conservatism and, if so, what is it?

Three facets of Reagan's personality have colored and often controlled his decisions and impact as governor. First there is his charm: very few people, alone or in a group, can meet or listen to Reagan without liking him. He is at once interesting and interested—as good a listener as he is a talker—and the effect of his personal magnetism cannot be disregarded.

The second important facet of his personality is his integrity in adhering to his principles, no matter what the circumstances. The Davis students who applauded him at a recent rally were also applauding Reagan's ability, courage, and readiness to express his principles, politely but firmly, to an audience he knew had been conditioned to disagree with him. In my research and experience there is no instance in which he has compromised his principles for personal or political gain. He came intellectually prepared to Sacramento, to the amazement of his critics and even some of his supporters, with a well thought out political philosophy and a matching set of principles from which he has never deviated.

Was he forced to bend principles to meet the political realities of a state that transacts more business than all but six or seven nations?

Unfortunately, the third and least publicly understood facet of his personality has often undone the effects of the first two. For better or worse, Ronald Reagan is the most compassionate person I have ever met. Nor am I alone in this assessment: his closest advisers are both awed and dismayed by Reagan's inability to inflict injury on, or tolerate injury to, other people, except people who have harmed or injured a third party. Not only can't he hurt another person; he has great difficulty in withdrawing even a part of the complete trust he invariably places in those who work for him, even when their actions publicly embarrass him.

As a society we have come to expect our political leaders to be, to a certain degree, Janus-faced. Thinking it through, most of us would probably wonder how else a politician could both get votes and manage a government agency. Ronald Reagan doesn't change personalities when he turns from the TV cameras and enters his private office. Peel off the layers of formality that he adds for his public appearances and you find only an increasingly informal version of the same person. In fact, the more informal the setting, the more his natural compassion and consideration for others surface. That is why people who expect to hate Reagan find, on meeting him, that they like him. "He attracts all kinds of people," Jim Jenkins, one of Reagan's closest policy advisers, told me, and added that screening Reagan's visitors was important only because "we were always afraid the next one would come out wearing the Governor's shirt."

Reagan's undeviating loyalty to his subordinates, even to those who could not or would not put his principles into practice, has produced failures and missed opportunities that, in fairness, must be chalked up against him. On the other hand, when his subordinates have shared his principles and had the courage and ability to design and carry out programs based on those principles, Reagan has proved not only that conservatism in government can work, but that in practice it represents the will of the vast majority of Americans of all backgrounds.

In 1967 Reagan inherited an incredible fiscal mess: the product of clumsy attempts by Pat Brown's outgoing administration to prevent either a major tax increase or severe

Mr. Hobbs, a public policy consultant in Sacramento, served on three of Governor Reagan's Task Forces. Earlier, he worked on the Apollo program.

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program cutbacks in an election year. Brown's director of finance, Hale Champion, informed Reagan's incoming staff that the 1966-67 budget was running a deficit of $1 million a day, wished them good luck, and walked out. The entire Medi-Cal (California's greatly expanded version of Medicaid) budget for the year had been spent in the six months before Reagan became governor. The statewide water system was severely underfunded because the value of the bonds to finance the project had been set at what Brown thought could win voter approval, a value far short of the actual construction costs of the system. In short, Reagan

He realizes, and has said so over and over again, that the real culprits in campus unrest are a few students swayed by a radical minority of the faculty

entered Sacramento, scalpel in hand, prepared to trim away the excess fat of government spending, only to find that he already had a $200-million budget deficit, a commitment for a water system that was underfunded by another several hundred millions of dollars, and a $4-billion potential unfunded liability in the State Teachers' Retirement System that, if not quickly corrected, would balloon local property tax rates.

In his first year as governor he was forced to raise state taxes by $900 million. But before he left office eight years later he had returned more than $1 billion of state taxes directly to the citizens of California and was providing another $1 billion per year in local property tax relief in the form of subventions to local governments to be spent for local programs. A miracle? Definitely not. A significant accomplishment? The answer can only be a qualified yes, considering that during the same period of time the state budget doubled and state spending grew at one and a half times the rate of state personal income. State taxes actually grew faster under Reagan than under Brown, but that was mainly the result of Brown's sleight of hand shift in the state accounting system from cash to accrual and toleration of a growing budget deficit during his last year in office.

Ronald Reagan wanted, much more than his predecessor, to control overall spending but, like his predecessor, was unable to do so. For at least the past twenty years the governor and the Legislature have maintained only a semblance of control over the budget and expenditures of the State of California. Control has actually been balanced between two bureaucratic agencies, neither of which has been held directly accountable to the people. These agencies are the state Department of Finance, ostensibly reporting to the governor and charged with preparing the annual governor's budget for submission to the Legislature, and the Office of the Legislative Analyst, ostensibly reporting to the Legislature for the primary purpose of analyzing the adequacy and quality of the governor's budget. By playing off executive departments against each other, by helping to ensure that elected critics get enough funds, or economies, or programs to keep them happy, by maintaining staffs with superior knowledge of the budget process, these two agencies have acted as an informal coalition in controlling the lion's share of California's budget, and with it California's expenditures and taxes. The symbiotic relationship of the two agencies has made the Department of Finance bureaucracy so strong that, as Ned Hutchinson, Reagan's highly respected appointments secretary for six years, said: "Unfortunately, we never laid a glove on them." They gave the conservative governor what he wanted: tax refunds to the people and property tax relief for local government. They gave the liberal Legislature what it wanted: more money for more state programs. But they kept effective control of the budget —their primary goal; and the secondary goal thus defined itself: increases in taxes and government spending that would allow them to satisfy their "customers"—the governor and the Legislature.

Ned Hutchinson was drafted into the Reagan administration, as were many of those who became administration stalwarts, through the Businessmen's Task Force, Reagan's first major attempt at reform of the bureaucracy. Borrowing the idea from Governor James Rhodes of Ohio, Reagan recruited some 250 businessmen from the major industries of the state. Speaking to small groups of business leaders about the reforms he had promised in his campaign, he would wait until his audience began, one by one, to pull out their checkbooks. Then he would say: "I don't need your money, I need your talent. There's a sign-up sheet by the door. If you can spare a day, a week, a month, or more, please sign up as you leave." The response was overwhelming, and for ten months, from February to December 1967, the state's most successful businessmen looked critically over the shoulders of its civil servants.

It turned out to be as much an audit as a reform (although most of the task force's 1,500 recommendations were eventually implemented, and many resulted in substantial cost savings), but a greater benefit was the business community's better understanding of the problems and challenges of managing the nation's largest state. Many successful businessmen, like Hutchinson, stayed to be a part of Reagan's management team. In fact, Hutchinson first coordinated the implementation of the recommendations, and graduated from that laborious task to the even more difficult one of picking candidates for the 300-odd political appointments Reagan controlled. "There were always plenty of qualified and experienced people available," says Hutchinson, "but not enough of them also shared the Governor's conservative principles and zeal to implement those principles."

From the start Reagan operated through an executive assistant, who functioned more or less as assistant governor. The first of these, Philip Battaglia, a dynamic Los Angeles attorney, left less than a year after Reagan took office. The second was William Clark, also an attorney, now a justice on the California Supreme Court. Reagan and Clark began, in late 1967 and early 1968, to apply the business management techniques that Reagan had promised to bring to state

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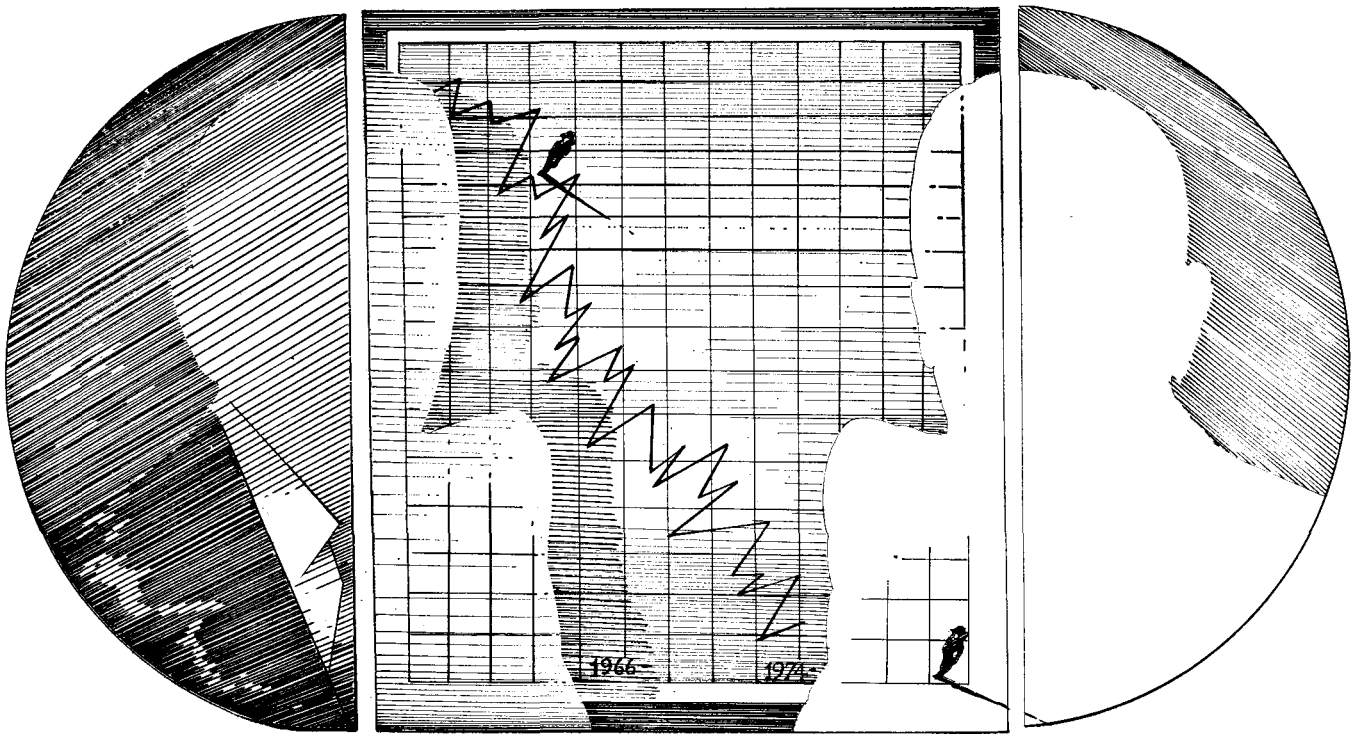
government, and that the Businessmen's Task Force had given shape. Reagan and Clark set up a cabinet that would be a forum for threshing out policy positions on the multitude of expensive, complex, overlapping, and sometimes almost invisible state programs. Each cabinet member, except the executive secretary, was also secretary of an agency comprising several functional departments. There were four such agencies: Human Relations (later Health and Welfare), Business and Transportation, Agriculture and Services, and Resources. The agency secretaries usually exercised no direct-line management responsibility except when their programs were in experimental or developmental stages, when they would be most susceptible to technical and political criticism. Under the cabinet system the line departments would make their budget requests to the agency secretaries, who would then meet with the governor and



argue the case for the fiscal needs of their agencies. Then the cabinet, headed by the governor, would set spending priorities and limits and instruct the Department of Finance as to what should constitute the governor's budget.

In retrospect, it appears that Reagan, Clark, and the other cabinet members did not know how strong a grip the old-line bureaucrats of the Department of Finance had on the preparation and enactment of the budget, or how close they came to breaking that grip with the establishment of the governor's cabinet. What saved the bureaucracy was its technical expertise. The new cabinet secretaries could not fathom the governor's budget, a document so esoteric that nowhere in it can be found the first requirement of any budget: single numbers representing the total projected expenditures of the state treasurer for the current year and for the projected year. Technical help obviously was needed: the director of finance was added to the cabinet as a full-fledged member and, properly briefed by his indulgent civil service staff, continued to call the shots. For the past five and a half years the director of finance has been Verne Orr, a man who is universally liked and respected by the state legislators and in whom Reagan has always placed great trust. Orr has been totally loyal to Reagan but, like other directors of finance before him, has depended completely for technical support on the civil servants who have managed the budget for over twenty years.

The cabinet worked well in other ways, however. A cabinet secretary would act as a sergeant at arms and parliamentarian, keeping the discussion as close to the agenda topic as possible. The structured discussion of cabinet issues, summarized before the meetings in "Cabinet Issue Memos," and the open exchange of views among all of Reagan's top advisers, with his active participation, were a vast improvement on the practices of his predecessors, who had usually decided issues on the advice of whoever was present at the time—cabinet member, legislator, lobbyist, or old fraternity brother. The cabinet made a workable routine for the day to day policy management of the executive branch. Had Pat Brown had such a forum, some of the disasters that struck his administration might have been averted, or at least reduced in effect. One such disaster was the decline and fall of the University of California in 1964.

A question that conservatives should ask about Ronald Reagan is why the vast majority of college and university students in California think he belongs in one of the lower levels of the Inferno. Part of the answer may be that most college students don't want to like or believe any public figure, on the assumption that to be a public figure is probably to be a hypocrite. But then most people, including most college students, are hypocrites, and Ronald Reagan, despite the political cartoonists, is not.

In addition Reagan has made no effort to communicate directly with large groups of college students, mainly because some of the staff members who scheduled his speaking

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engagements felt that student audiences would invariably contain provocateurs, and most students wouldn't vote anyway.

But for one who knows what Ronald Reagan believes in and how close, notwithstanding the generation gap, his beliefs are to what most students say they want to believe in, neither answer is satisfactory. I think the larger part of the answer lies in the insecurity and paranoia of the University of California's administration and faculty, stemming from its public attempt at self-destruction as an institution of higher learning in 1964. The spectacle of the president of

Within thirty days the welfare case load, which had been growing at a rate of 25,000 to 40,000 persons per month, leveled off and began to drop

one of the most respected institutions of higher learning in the world bargaining away, in exchange for a campus police car, administrative control of the university to a few hundred radical faculty and student punks, destroyed almost instantaneously California's respect for its university. When, two years later, Ronald Reagan became the spokesman for a free society faced by a revolution fomented on the campuses, his targets, whether he willed it or not, were students. He realizes, and has said so over and over again, that the real culprits in campus unrest are a few students swayed by a radical minority of the faculty. But the wall between Reagan and students is there, and it is only recently that Reagan himself has shown the inclination to climb over or walk around that wall. The students, having more pride than experience, will stay on their side until he comes over to be tested.

ANOTHER WALL is the wall between him and some members of the California Supreme Court, particularly the Chief Justice he appointed in 1970, Donald Wright. Soon after he took office, Reagan initiated a system by which candidates for judgeships would be pre-screened and evaluated by committees composed of members of the bar, judges, and laymen before he personally selected from among the candidates. He also applied a rule of thumb to his selection of judicial candidates: whenever possible, he would try to appoint judges who were younger than 55, so that the state legal system could benefit from the store of experience they would gather.

Reagan's system for appointing judges and his judicial appointments have been hailed as exceptionally good by conservatives, and even liberals admit that the quality of judicial appointments has improved under Reagan. For Reagan and other conservatives, however, Donald Wright has been a tragic disappointment as Chief Justice of the State Supreme Court, which had for years been somewhat to the left of even the Warren Court. Wright was expected to help remedy that tilt, and his conversations with Reagan prior to his appointment reinforced that expectation. Reagan fudged a bit on his rule of thumb: Wright was 63, but he had mentioned, in several conversations with Reagan's advisers, that he intended to retire on his twentieth anniversary as a judge, which would occur before the end of Reagan's second term and allow Reagan then to appoint a younger man. Reagan also thought that Wright supported the death penalty.

Reagan made Wright Chief Justice, and Wright changed colors overnight. He wrote the decision abolishing the death penalty in California, voted with the Brown-appointed liberals on most issues, and, instead of retiring, he sought and gained reconfirmation in the last general election. The wall between Reagan and Wright is probably a permanent one.

THE CABINET, however valuable as a management forum and a stimulant to intelligent decision making, was still basically a reactive, not an innovative mechanism, and Reagan was more interested in changing government than in just managing it. He firmly believes that government should be out of most of the businesses it has gotten into since 1930, and that the private sector should be increasing, not decreasing, its role in solving society's problems. Before William Clark left to become a judge in early 1969, he fathered a Program Development Office within the governor's office, for the specific purpose of developing innovative programs that would lessen the intervention of the state government in people's lives and pocketbooks. The office generated many ideas, and went a long way toward explaining, in terms of specific programs, what the "Creative Society" government could accomplish. The office's proposals, however, were never equipped with implementing mechanisms.

In a more specific attempt at reducing government expansion, Reagan's staff took aim, early in 1970, at the California Rural Legal Assistance agency, a group of attorneys set up by the federal Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) to give legal assistance to the poor, but under the administrative control of the state OEO, which was headed by Lew Uhler, a Reagan appointee. Uhler's aides began to build a file showing that CRLA attorneys were organizing protests against the government that was paying them, in violation of the regulations covering their scope of work. Reagan, relying on what seemed to be massive and well documented evidence presented by Uhler, vetoed CRLA funds for the coming year. In Washington, Frank Carlucci, then OEO director, holding that the Reagan charges could not be substantiated, indicated he would override the veto. Reagan sought the backing of President Nixon, and a thorough investigation of the charges ensued. As it turned out, the staff work done for Reagan was inadequate. A few of the charges held up, but most, although probably true, could not be substantiated by hard evidence, and Reagan was forced to back off. In a no-win, no-lose compromise, CRLA got half the money it had expected, and the other half went to the state to create a new legal aid program for the poor, which, however, never got off the ground.

Reagan was learning from these mistakes. He finally developed the mechanism that was to turn the thrust of his administration from simply improving government management to improving government itself when, in mid-1970, he

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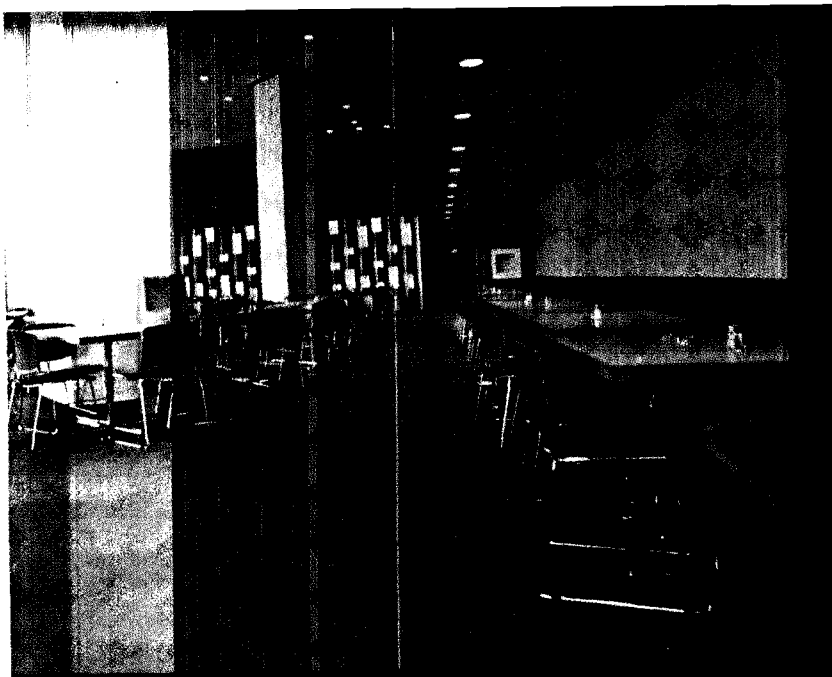

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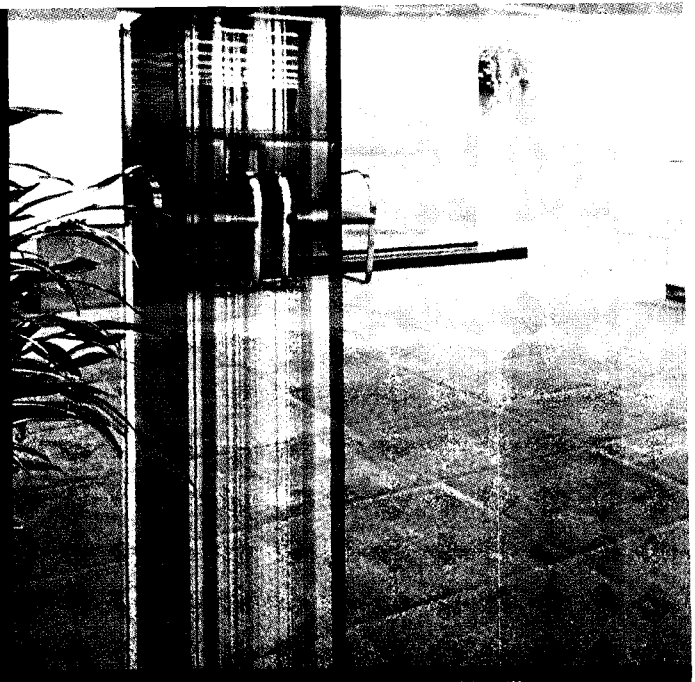

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found that uncontrolled growth of the welfare system threatened to bankrupt the state.

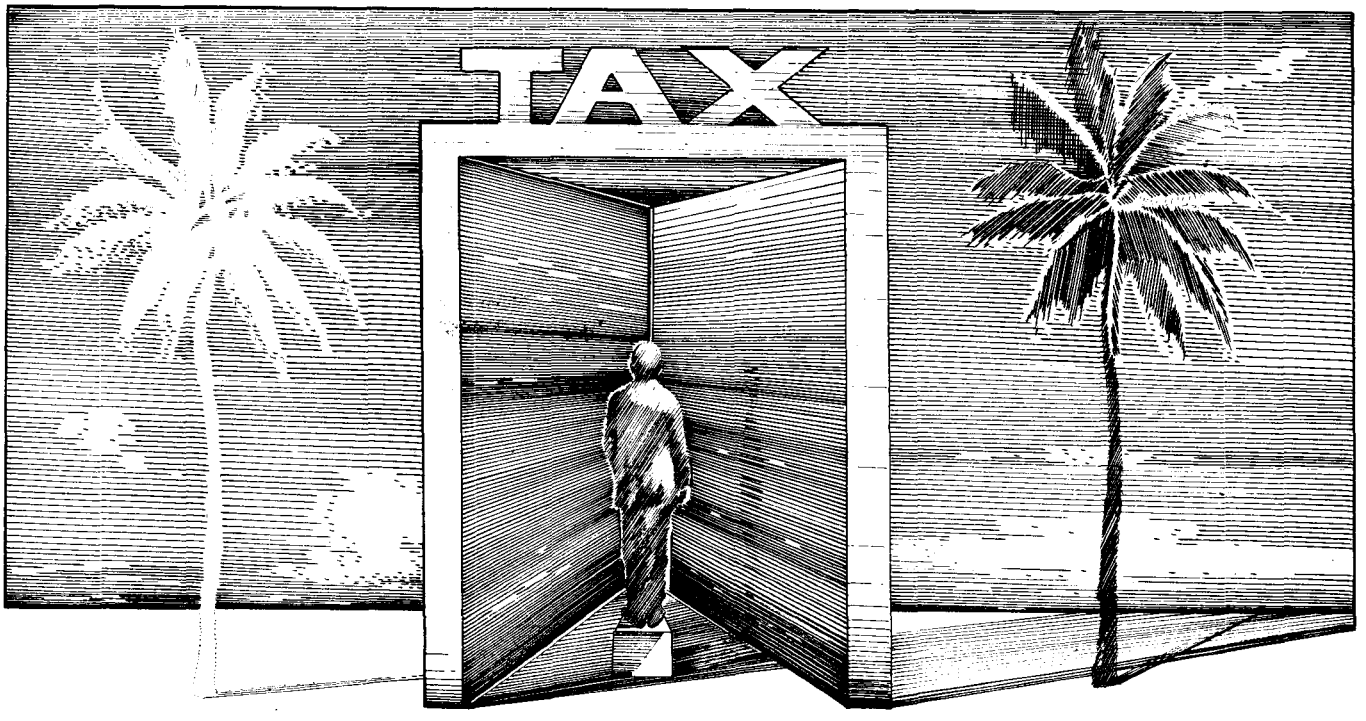
In the spring of 1971 Ronald Reagan singlehandedly cleaned up the federally created "welfare mess" in his state by 1) restricting welfare to those who really needed it, 2) increasing the benefits to those truly in need, and 3) requiring able-bodied welfare recipients either to take a job for pay or perform public services for their welfare grants. These simple steps, implemented through an elaborate, carefully timed series of administrative directives from his Director of Social Welfare, Robert Carleson, to California's 58 County Welfare Departments, produced immediate and, to the rest of the nation, incredible results: within thirty days the welfare case load, which had been growing at a rate of 25,000 to 40,000 persons per month, leveled off and began to drop. It has dropped ever since, and there are now 400,000 fewer people on welfare in California than there were in February 1971.

Savings in state and local taxes, by the most conservative estimates, are more than $2 billion, with another $2-billion saving in federal taxes. And, most galling to liberals who said it couldn't be done, welfare grants, after an initial 30 per cent increase as part of the reform, have continued to rise with the cost of living, so that no Californian on welfare will be penalized by inflation. Nor was this welfare reform fortuitous: every other large state's welfare case load continued to grow while California's fell until, one by one, the other states, led by New York, with Governor Nelson Rockefeller publicly toasting Reagan on his success, came to California to learn the formula for welfare reform. Reagan's welfare reform director, Robert Carleson, has since become federal Commissioner of Welfare, and serves as HEW's representative to states with runaway welfare problems.

Many conservatives know about these simple and impressive results, but few know how the combination of knowledge, creativity, courage, and perseverance that produced those results was brought about. Even fewer realize that those results were achieved despite the active and concentrated opposition of the Nixon Administration, of HEW, of the organized federal, state, and local welfare bureaucracies, of the California Legislature, of every special interest group involved, and even of the bureaucratically controlled portion of Reagan's own administration.

The story really started in the early autumn of 1969, when President Nixon and his staff humanitarian, Pat Moynihan, were trying to sell the Congress and the governors on the Family Assistance Program (FAP better expresses the qualities of its subject than any other acronym in my experience). By then Ed Meese, an ex-deputy district attorney of Alameda County, and a man who, as legal affairs secretary, had already shown himself to be not only absolutely loyal to Reagan but a master at gaining consensus within the cabinet, had replaced William Clark as Reagan's executive secretary. At the Western White House in San Clemente, Reagan and Meese listened to FAP described in Moynihan's honeyed brogue. Welfare recipients would benefit; states would benefit; the "welfare mess" would be cleaned up once and for all, and by a national Republican Administration. Reagan and Meese were almost convinced.

In Washington, however, Jim Jenkins, then Reagan's "ambassador" to the Federal Government, was seeing a slightly different picture. Jenkins passed his information along to Reagan. Reading the reports himself and knowing the liberal crew that was writing the bill, Jenkins came to the conclusion that FAP would probably turn out to be another giant step toward state socialism in the form of a guaranteed federal dole to workers and nonworkers alike, sugarcoated with savings for the states but hiding an enormous price tag that would force a federal income tax increase or an expansion of the national debt. Jenkins flew to Sacramento, and briefed Reagan and the cabinet on what FAP would really be with Moynihan's rhetoric peeled away. Between Jenkins' briefing and the intensive discussion that followed, Reagan probably received more information about



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the potential effects of FAP than Nixon ever did. On the evidence, this time meticulously researched, Reagan concluded that California could not support the President and that FAP would, if implemented, be a burden the nation could not bear. A few months later, in the summer of 1970, Reagan made his first and only appearance before Congress as governor of California when he testified at length to Senator Russell Long's Finance Committee as to how and why, in his opinion, FAP would be a disaster for his state and for the nation. Even as he spoke, he realized that, as governor of the largest state, his best hope of stopping FAP would be to design a workable alternative. From this realization California's Welfare Reform Program was born.

Returning to Sacramento, Reagan formed a task force of experts in law, public administration, and business management, expressly picking people who had had no previous experience of, and therefore had no stake in, the current welfare system. Under the leadership of Ned Hutchinson, this team spent five months examining the welfare system to see if it could be changed to make people less, rather than more, dependent on government handouts. The Welfare Reform Task Force concluded not only that such changes could be made, but that simultaneously aid to the needy could be increased and the cost of the system reduced.

The welfare crisis had not only elicited a workable reform program but discovered a mechanism—the independent task force of experts relieved from day to day management responsibilities—for determining how to make those permanent changes in government for which Reagan had campaigned and been elected.

In laying out for Reagan their detailed plans for welfare reform, the task force members, to a man, expressed their doubts that the Legislature would enact the parts of the plan that could not be carried out by executive fiat. Reagan disagreed, knowing that in this matter he held a trump card—the support of the people. Gambling that the initial administrative reforms, which he could order on his own authority through Carleson as state director of social welfare, would cause a sharp and immediate drop in case load growth, he felt the people would then agitate to force the Legislature to complete the program.

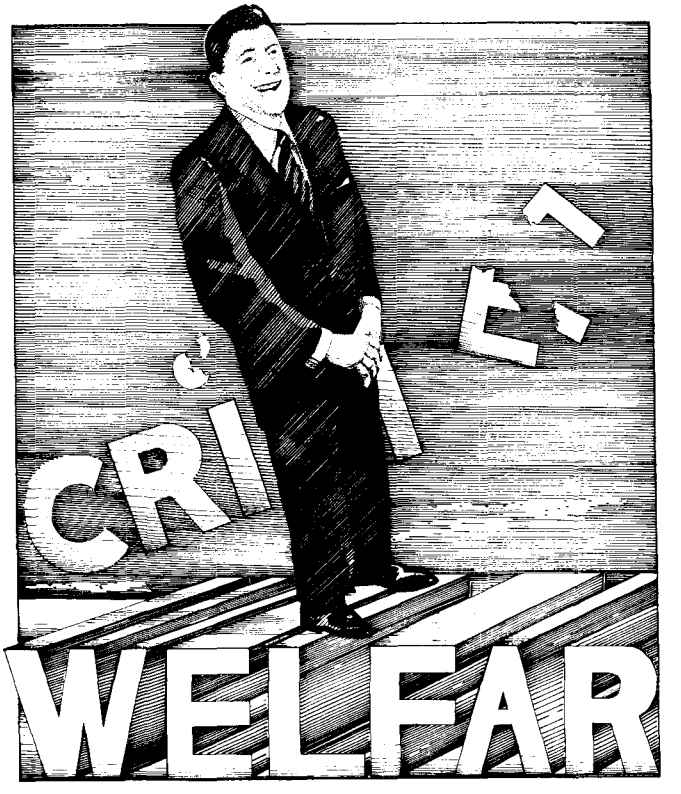
Reagan won this one, but it was close. The attack began as soon as the Legislature got Reagan's proposed 1971-72 budget, with a marked decrease in funds for welfare. A. Alan Post, the Legislative Analyst, immediately dubbed the proposed budget "the Property Tax Increase Act of 1971." He was wrong. Welfare reform worked: 42 of California's 58 counties lowered their property taxes that year, and Post's reputation for objectivity and accuracy suffered a severe setback.

But the Legislature had other weapons. The annual legislative ritual of publicly massaging the governor's proposed budget for months and then appointing a six-man conference committee to formulate the Legislature's counterproposals offered an excellent opportunity to sabotage welfare reform. An integral, in fact critical, element in the welfare reform program was the administrative reorganization of the bureaucracy. That reorganization depended upon Carleson's having discretionary power through the budget to separate certain people from their old functions. The night before the completed budget was to be presented to and quickly passed by both houses of the Legislature, so that it could be signed before the old year ended, members of the legislative staff changed enough of the budget control language to kill the reorganization. The new language was of a masterly obscurity, and its intent certainly would not normally have been noticed by members of the Legislature.

Fortunately for Reagan, however, two members of his welfare reform team were also working late that night and decided to drop into the Capitol office where the budget document had just been "put to bed." An ebullient Legislature aide, proud of the sabotage he and his companions had done to Reagan's plans, and thinking it too late for anyone to repair the damage, gleefully spilled the beans.

Looking back, the entire set of reforms had been designed and implemented against overwhelming odds, by fewer than ten people, including the Governor

Early the next morning each member of Reagan's welfare reform team approached key legislators, one by one, as they entered the budget session, pointing out the change in wording and the effect it would have, not only on welfare reform, but on future governors' abilities to organize the executive branch. Before the budget was passed, both houses had passed resolutions upholding Carleson's right to reorganize his department. One of the most liberal and influential of the Democratic senators took it upon himself to sponsor and personally ensure passage of a budget revision bill, undoing the sabotage and permitting the reorganization to be accomplished.



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Finally, the efforts of the welfare reform team, combined with the overwhelming reactions of the public, brought Assembly Speaker Bob Moretti to the point of surrender. Appearing at Reagan's office door he held up his hands and said: "Stop the cards and letters. I'm ready to negotiate a welfare reform act." So, in August 1971, after Reagan had been in office four and a half years, the Legislature realized that Reagan was a governor as well as an ideologue.

Reagan had been reelected in 1970, beating Jesse Unruh by half a million votes. The margin would probably have been much greater had not Reagan, again showing the compassion that is, for him, a principle in itself, spent the last weeks of the campaign stumping for his old and ill friend George Murphy who, even so, lost his Senate seat to John Tunney. Reagan, who had always said that eight years was long enough for anybody to be governor, announced immediately after his reelection that he would not run for a third term. By then even legislators were beginning to understand that Reagan always keeps his word, so throughout the crucial days of welfare reform Reagan was acting from a lameduck position.

Negotiations for the waivers of the Social Security Act that would give federal blessing to welfare reform were conducted principally with John Veneman, assistant secretary of HEW, a former California Republican assemblyman and close friend of Robert Finch, Reagan's first lieutenant governor. Despite this, Reagan's welfare reform team got a cool reception from Veneman and other HEW officials, many of whom felt that performing a public service for one's welfare grant was "slave labor." The negotiations dragged out for seven months, until the obvious success of the California program and the public enthusiasm it generated convinced HEW it could no longer stand in the way. HEW Secretary Elliot Richardson finally granted the Social Security Act waivers on August 3, 1972.

But the most unexpected opposition to welfare reform came from within the Reagan administration itself. Nearly a year after legislative approval of the Welfare Department reorganization, the state auditor general and the legislative counsel, both employees of the Legislature, decided to investigate Welfare Department hiring practices. Charges of illegality against the Welfare Department during the reform battle were not unusual—Reagan, Carleson, and other officials had been defendants in some 140 suits filed mainly by CRLA attorneys—but in this case a new accuser was added. At a hearing called by the Assembly, the welfare reform team found itself accused of illegal and improper hiring practices, not only by the auditor general and legislative counsel, but also by representatives of Reagan's own Department of Finance, with the apparent knowledge and concurrence of Verne Orr, Reagan's appointed finance director. One of the members of the welfare reform team, remembering an old Pogo cartoon, muttered: "We have met the enemy, and they are us." The matter was resolved when State Attorney General Evelle Younger, independently elected and politically unaffected by welfare reform, ruled in favor of the Welfare Department. The last and cruelest attack on Reagan's welfare reform had been overcome. Looking back, the entire set of reforms had been designed and implemented, against overwhelming odds, by fewer than ten people, including the Governor.

The welfare reform successes, precarious as they sometimes seemed to the small band of reformers, convinced Reagan that carefully constructed task forces, given the freedom and the authority to examine, could find conservative solutions to the problems of a large state government. In the spring of 1972 Reagan asked his cabinet to define the problems he should attempt to solve in his remaining three years in office. The cabinet decided upon three: crime in the streets, taxes, and the restructuring of local government. The Governor established two task forces immediately to address the problems of crime and taxes, and a year later created a final task force on local government.

THE DIFFERENCE between the Task Force on Criminal Justice and the Task Force on Tax Reduction proved the diversity of the task force approach to government change. Reagan's executive secretary, Ed Meese, and his Criminal Justice Task Force produced a large number of relatively detailed and specific solutions that could be implemented, one by one, through legislation or administrative action by the state, or through individual actions by local governments. The recommendations ran the gamut from stiffer penalties for crimes of violence to methods of streamlining court procedures in order to reduce mounting case backlogs. This task force emulated the Welfare Reform Task Force in bringing together people from both inside and outside the administration, but differed slightly in its approach by recruiting individuals with extensive experience in law enforcement and court procedures. The positive impact of its recommendations, while not generating the publicity of welfare reform, will be felt for many years, at least in part because its goal—the reduction of crime and restoration of safety for all Californians—is universally accepted.

On the other hand the Tax Reduction Task Force, headed by Lew Uhler, was charged to meet a goal with which many people, among them the majority of the Legislature, did not agree: namely, to find a method for permanently reducing taxes and, coincidentally, the size and authority of government. One member of the task force, who had also been a principal designer of the welfare reform program, supplied the answer: a constitutional limitation on the portion of the total state personal income that the state government could take as revenue in any year and, since the task force thought that the current percentage was already too high, a provision for a slow rollback of the percentage until it reached the level it had been when Reagan became governor.

In a postelection survey 69 per cent of the people who said they voted no said also that they thought Proposition 1 would increase taxes

The concept was simple, much simpler than welfare reform; but because it dealt with the very heart of governmental power—the ability to tax—the task force knew

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from the start that such a program would be even harder to implement than welfare reform. First, the change would have to be constitutional, requiring a vote of the people. Second, the simplicity of the concept itself exposed the complexity of the state budget and expenditure process. Some state revenues went to a general fund, some to special funds for specific purposes, and some to funds over which the Federal Government exercised control. In addition, the state AAA bond rating and various government-subsidized pension programs would have to be protected. Most importantly, local governments would have to be insured against the state Legislature's circumventing the revenue limit by transferring costs to local taxpayers. The problems associated with these complexities of the existing government structure would have to be resolved in the language of the proposed constitutional amendment, making it even harder for the voters to understand what they were voting for or against, especially in the face of campaign rhetoric.

The task force proved exactly the opposite is true: the smaller the population served, down to about the level of 25,000 people, the more satisfied the people and the less expensive the service

KNOWING these pitfalls, the task force sought the advice of more than two hundred economists, attorneys, political scientists, and other experts in national and state government finance to reduce the idea to its simplest workable form. Armed with the enthusiastic support of such eminent "government weight watchers" as Milton Friedman, Peter Drucker, C. Lowell Harriss, and James Buchanan, the task force presented its revenue limitation proposal first to a steering committee of administration officials chaired by Frank Walton, Reagan's secretary of business and transportation and one of the stalwart conservatives of the administration. With his enthusiastic endorsement, the task force presented its proposal to Reagan, in the form of a long memorandum, just as he left for a 1972 Christmas vacation. He returned not only ready to endorse the concept, but full of ideas for improving the proposal and presenting it to the Legislature and the public. In a series of special cabinet meetings with Reagan and the task force in January 1973, the details of the program were worked out. The task force, augmented by an expert in constitutional law and an economist whose speciality was taxation and government finance, was assigned to draft the legal language of the proposed constitutional amendment. The spirit of welfare reform was reborn.

The California Constitution can only be amended by popular vote at an election called for that purpose by the governor. A proposed amendment can be placed on the ballot either by vote of the Legislature or by petition of 10 per cent of the number of voters in the last general election. Reagan found a conservative legislator, Senator Robert Lagomarsino of Ventura, who was willing to sponsor the amendment as a bill to the Legislature. While the Senate listened politely, the Assembly quickly made it clear to Reagan that it would not vote to put the revenue limitation program on a ballot, no matter how many cards and letters the people sent them. Bob Moretti listened to ten minutes of a briefing on the program and walked out, leaving his staff to produce and distribute a press release which declared that the program would mean the end of representative government in California. Finally, the defiant stance of the Legislature left Reagan no choice but to try to get over 500,000 registered voters to endorse a vote on the program. In the record time of three months the signatures were obtained, and Reagan called a special election for November 6, 1973. The revenue limitation program would be the only statewide issue on the ballot and so was entitled "Proposition 1."

IN THAT FIRST blush of enthusiasm for a workable permanent tax reduction program and the delight engendered by the speed in getting the necessary petition signatures, a few dissenting voices and several ominous signs were overlooked or, at least, undervalued. First, most of Reagan's advisers, not having worked directly on welfare reform, did not know how tough that fight had been and how close the welfare reform team had come to losing on several occasions. Furthermore, the polls showed that the tax burden, while unpopular, was not nearly as unpopular as welfare had been. Second, the opposition to Proposition 1 would undoubtedly be stronger than the opposition to welfare reform since virtually all public employees would probably not only vote against it but also contribute to the opposition campaign. Third, Verne Orr, Reagan's finance director, opposed the concept of a tax limitation. His argument was that the growth of government was inexorable, because the people wanted it that way, and that the best that elected and appointed government officials could do was try to spend the money wisely. Although, out of loyalty to Reagan, he actively supported Proposition 1, his support lacked conviction. Fourth, winning a statewide election would cost money. Fifth, in order to establish a campaign organization, half of the governor's office, including Mike Deaver, Reagan's closest political adviser, resigned their state positions and moved six blocks down the street to join the campaign, which Deaver chaired. Thus for three months the governor's coordinated team was split in half, physically and operationally. Sixth, Reagan himself was forced into a difficult posture. The task force had recommended a grassroots campaign in which Reagan would support, but not lead, the thrust for change. Unfortunately, the early need for the use of Reagan's personal political strength to stimulate the signature petition drive foreclosed the use of a grassroots strategy. For better or for worse, to the public Proposition 1 belonged to Ronald Reagan. Finally, and probably most importantly, Proposition 1 was long, complex, and written in the legal jargon that has replaced English among lawyers. Trying to read it confused most of the people, and confused people usually vote no. In a postelection survey 69 per cent of the people who said they voted no said also that they thought Proposition 1 would increase taxes.

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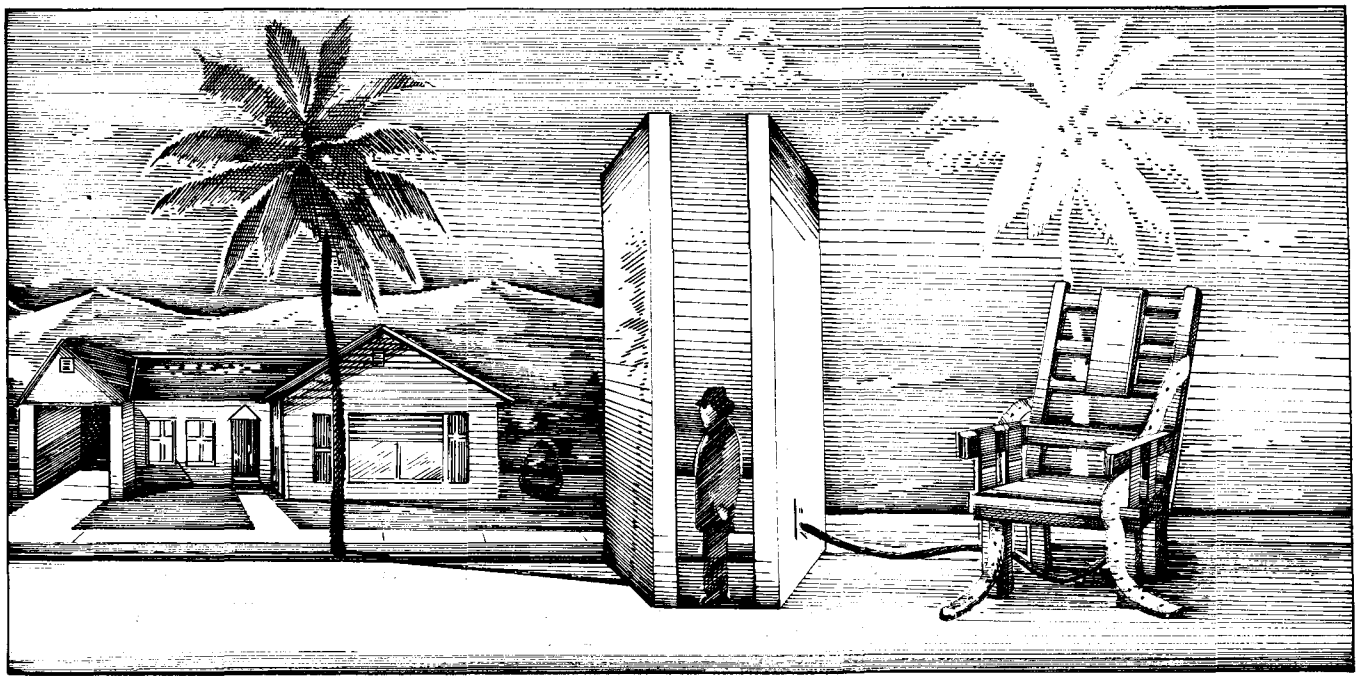
The opposition campaign was, as expected, funded heavily by public employees, and the Legislature, taking advantage of the fact that Reagan had also submitted Proposition 1 to them in legislative bill form, trotted out its fiscal howitzer, Legislative Analyst A. Alan Post, to blast holes in Reagan's contention, backed up by task force data, that future revenues under Proposition 1 would be more than sufficient to meet the state's real needs. Post produced a large volume of statistics showing that local taxes would skyrocket under Proposition 1, even though the Proposition contained elaborate protections against local tax increases.

Post's figures were disputed by the prestigious National Tax Foundation, but they were not refuted, as they could have been, by the agency that had the greatest capability and credibility—Reagan's Department of Finance. Director Verne Orr denied a request from the Tax Reduction Task Force for his staff to estimate the next five years of state revenues if Proposition 1 were to pass, on the basis that no five-year projections could be considered reliable. The damage done by Post went unrepaired. Across the state local officials, who could no more understand the legal language of Proposition 1 than other citizens became queasy at the thought of having to raise local taxes, and their confusion and concern was passed on to the electorate by a very effective propaganda campaign conducted by the firm which, ironically, had managed Reagan's 1966 gubernatorial campaign. When the votes were counted, Proposition 1 had got 46 per cent yes votes to 54 per cent no votes. Reagan's most significant attempt to keep his campaign promise to reduce the size and influence of government had failed, principally because the people, confused by propaganda, a barrage of problematical statistics, and legal jargon, did not understand what he was trying to do.

Reagan was mad, at the opposition and at himself, but not at his staff or at the voters. He hopes, as do many of us who worked on Proposition 1, that it will reappear, in simpler and more understandable form, in California and other states, and will one day redeem his vision of government growth controlled by the people.

During the Proposition 1 campaign the last major task force—the Local Government Reform Task Force—was organized and began to investigate whether some structural improvement could be devised that would lead to the restoration of a less costly and more effective form of local control. Under the leadership of Robert Hawkins, the man who had restored order to the state OEO after the CRLA battle, this task force carried out the most exhaustive research of any of the task forces and arrived at the simplest conclusion. Its conclusion was that almost all of the problems of local government originated in the statutes and regulations which emanated from Washington, D.C. and Sacramento, and that the best way to improve local government was to leave it alone. Among its recommendations was the abolition of most of the state's restrictions on the formation of local governments; the establishment of an optional local income tax, deductible dollar-for-dollar from state income tax, to relieve the pressure on the property tax; and the encouragement of joint powers agreements to solve problems among local governments, in preference to consolidation or state intervention.



The Legislature was in no mood, after beating Proposition 1, to consider any more of Reagan's reforms, so the report of the Local Government Reform Task Force remained in limbo until after the final date for introduction of new 1974 bills. The report was then released, with no fanfare or call for action. The innovation-by-task-force train had run out of steam, at least for the Reagan administration; which was too bad, for this latest report was in some ways more valuable than anything the other task forces had done. For one thing, the Local Government Reform Task Force report debunked the myth that the application of a "business" model to local governments would automatically improve cost-benefit ratios. On the contrary, the report demonstrated that in function after function per capita costs of service increased dramatically where the population per governmental unit exceeded 250,000, exploding the analogy from business that consolidation of government functions and units would produce economies of scale and lower taxes.

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The task force proved that exactly the opposite is true: the smaller the population served, down to about the level of 25,000 people, the more satisfied the people and the less expensive the service.

SECONDLY, the report catalogued exhaustively the bureaucratic sins inflicted by larger governments on smaller governments that Reagan had talked of in 1966. Statistics on local government expenditures in California between 1950 and 1973 showed that, despite the much ballyhooed subventions of federal and state funds to local governments, the percentage of local expenditures that come solely from local revenues had risen, not fallen. In other words, federal and state policies had caused local governments to raise their taxes even faster than state and federal governments. The recommendation drawn from the evidence—get higher governments off the backs of local governments—was exactly in line with the instinctive reaction to intergovernmental relations which Reagan had enunciated when he first became a candidate for governor.

There were two major issues that Reagan never resolved as governor of California. One is the quality of lower education, which he purposely avoided trying to reform because California has a constitutionally and independently elected superintendent of public instruction. Reagan offered his support to the superintendents who were in office during his two terms as governor, but no major workable reforms were attempted, at least not in the opinion of conservatives who would like to see their children learn to read, write, add, and substract as well as the children in Ohio or Virginia or any of about twenty other states. Some day soon California may have to face up to the fact that its public education system is bureaucratized into immobility. Reagan did not try to stimulate that awareness.

The other issue is the power of the state over the use of land, relative to the powers of local governments and landowners. This issue is also tied, of course, to the general concern about the environment. Reagan's cabinet split constantly on specific issues, and Reagan's actions often reflected that split. He personally remains a strong advocate of the rights of individuals to use their land as they wish, as long as they are not harming their neighbors, and he has continually restated his belief that government, although it has the right to take land, must pay a fair price for it. In specific cases, however, he has come down in different places at different times. He personally canceled construction of a dam that would have flooded an Indian Reservation, and he canceled, after a horseback visit to the Minaretes Wilderness Area, construction of a highway which would have defaced the wild country that he feels must be preserved. On the other hand, under pressure from a part of his staff oriented toward increased state intervention in local affairs, he came uncomfortably close, for a conservative, to endorsing state takeover of zoning control and increased use of police power, instead of eminent domain, in preserving open space. He also signed the bills and disseminated the regulations that have substantially delayed California construction starts by requiring elaborate environmental impact reports; allowed regional agencies to be set up for the control of such regions as the Tahoe Basin and San Francisco Bay shoreland; and established state control over the locating of power plants. To the extent that these are inconsistencies, however, we must recognize that the issue is one on which conservative philosophy is not at present clear enough to buttress a consistent position in practice.

Despite the much ballyhooed subventions of federal and state funds to local governments, the percentage of local expenditures that come solely from local revenues had risen, not fallen

CONSERVATIVES ARE an irascible breed: seldom satisfied with anyone or anything, and then not for long. They are, unless distracted, congenitally suspicious of the ability of another person to make them like him. They discard heroes at the drop of a minor principle, and tend to carry grudges for life. They love their country as they love themselves, for whatever is left of its independence and integrity. Being a conservative, I know how easily we magnify flaws in others, even those we admire.

Ronald Reagan was not a perfect governor, and I have been blunt in pointing out what I think were imperfect actions. But both his principles and his achievements place him far enough above his contemporaries for us to ask whether anyone else has his combination of dedication to conservative principles, the integrity to adhere to those principles in the face of overwhelming challenges, the perserverance to carry through to the ultimate possible extent what he promises to do, and the magnificent personality to explain himself candidly and clearly to anyone who will listen.

In the Sacramento Public Library there is in the card catalogue a card which reads:

> REAGAN, RONALD
> Biographical material on
> artists, actors, and musicians
> will be found in the Art Room.

That card immediately conjured up for me the vision of Reagan, card in hand, asking politely of the librarian: "Where's the rest of me?" I think I know. George Steffes, now one of Sacramento's most highly respected lobbyists and the man who, more than any other, brought Reagan and the Legislature together, told me the story. It happened in the California governor's office in 1967, when Reagan, faced with a $200-million budget deficit, was handed a bill just passed by the Legislature appropriating $57,000 to add hemophiliac children to the State Crippled Children's Program. All of his advisers told him to veto the bill: there was no money for any purpose, even one as worthy as this. But Reagan signed the bill without hesitation, saying simply: "If we are going to have a Crippled Children's Program at all, how can we keep these kids out?" □

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PHILADELPHIA SOCIETY

Worried but Right

M. J. SOBRAN JR.

THE PHILADELPHIA SOCIETY held its 1974 Eastern meeting in the New York Sheraton on November 22 and 23. I had long yearned to attend one of its conventions—it regularly arranges symposiums featuring some of the most distinguished conservative thinkers in America—but this was the first time I had been able to do so, courtesy of the Society (which invited me) and *NR* (which assigned me to cover it). I was not disappointed.

The first symposium was more nearly a debate, as the University of Rochester's Henry Manne accused Irving Kristol of irresponsibility, and Kristol defended himself, both contestants taking a few good-natured jibes from referee Ernest van den Haag. The topic of their discussion was "Cooperation, Consumers, Economists, and Real People," and Manne argued that Kristol's basic error was ascribing the same kind of reality to all kinds of collectivities. A corporation, Manne said, is not an entity but a contract, and as such has no social responsibilities, contrary to Kristol's assertions. Kristol is irresponsible, he concluded, in making the corporations, which are purely market functions, the object of his attacks, when he should be attacking instead mass democracy itself for its arrogant and destructive interference with the free market.

Kristol, in reply, professed himself "utterly bewildered" by Manne's view that corporations are only legal fictions. For his part, he prefers to speak of the "institutional" (rather than the "social") responsibilities of corporations and he challenged Manne's view of corporations as contracts. The modern corporation, unlike the joint-stock company of old, is not a contract for a single purpose, upon the realization of which it will dissolve ("if U.S. Steel can't make steel, it will make something else"); the corporation is an institution, with attributes far beyond any intended or foreseen by its founders; and as an institution it has impact on the rest of society for which it will, and should be, held accountable. This is not a matter of pure economics, he said: the word "profiteer" belongs to morality, and no amount of economic analysis can ever yield it up. During last year's oil crisis, American oil companies became "institutional tax collectors" for the Arab nations, and our citizens were outraged— "and properly so."

This opening argument, convivially two-fisted as all arguments should be, followed a reception and dinner Friday night, and was succeeded by questions from the floor, then a mass retreat to the bar; and so to bed. Saturday morning's session was one of astringent gloom: the day's general theme was to be "The Future of Representative Government," and the first panel looked balefully at Europe. *NR* Publisher William Rusher blamed the U.S. in part for Europe's present woes, because after the war we supported only the anti-Communist Left—seeing to it that the free nations were, as he put it, "presided over by their respective Adlai Stevensons"—whose political arrangements were bound to buckle eventually, as indeed they are now doing. He also painted a gloomy picture of Portugal, where the Communists seemed to be in charge already; of Greece, where Karamanlis may be forced into harmful compromises with the Left; of Italy, where a coalition including the Communists appears unavoidable. The U.S. has done its full share to undermine effective anti-Communism, and catastrophe is no longer avoidable: first economic, then political, then military. The mass democracies have not shown the self-restraint necessary to their own survival.

James Dornan of the Catholic University of America (coauthor of a recent *NR* article on South Vietnam) spoke of the British situation, and his enumeration of its troubles and prospects was such as to leave hardly a dry eye in the Sheraton: more nationalization, reflationary measures, another attempt (this one hopeless) to muddle through as the economy approaches "the absolute breaking point." The slide is apparently "inexorable," and the U.S., Dornan added, is not so far behind as we usually assume. Only Wilson Schmidt of the Virginia Polytechnic Institute seemed optimistic: cautiously optimistic, as the phrase is. He observed that the floating exchange rate came in the nick of time to save us from the potentially disastrous impact of the oil producing countries' sudden acquisition of $60 billion; and he held out hope that the free market, whose resilience has been so dramatically proved lately, can yet absorb the further shocks ahead, especially for Europe, in oil politics. The question is whether political interference will frustrate the market's beneficent operation.

At luncheon, Leo Rosten, admired by everyone Left, Right, and Center for his H*y*m*a*n K*a*p*l*a*n stories, put the whole dreadful business into a comforting cosmic perspective by offering "A Concise Summary of Everything Worth Knowing."

THE AFTERNOON sessions were devoted to the question of the future of representative government, a) in the United States and b) under the impact of the mass media. In the first, Howard Phillips, who learned about bureaucracy first hand—when he was appointed by Richard Nixon as acting head of the OEO with a mandate to dismantle it and put in a few happy axe-wielding months before being forced out—pointed out that liberalism is established in enclaves whose effectiveness may be gauged by the recent elections, in which an increasingly conservative populace rejected conservative politicians. But this fact also reflects the failure of President Ford to offer an offensive strategy. Conservatives, Phillips said, must begin building their own enclaves, developing the geographical strongholds without which no political movement ever acquires leverage. We are now simply too diffuse to exploit our potential strength.

The University of Maryland's Donald Devine gave perhaps the most spirited and controversial speech of the meeting. Conservatives, he said, are suffering from "a jaundiced European hang-

(Continues on page 61)

Mr. Sobran is a contributing editor of NATIONAL REVIEW.

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'John and Mary Doe, I Love You'

Out of This World

MALACHI B. MARTIN

THERE HAS NEVER been a human terror—even of a Hitler or a Stalin—which threatened the human self more lethally than it is threatened today. Paradoxically, the threat comes most consistently from those who see themselves as deeply concerned for the "quality of life."

Our civilization and its culture were built around one linchpin persuasion: that the personal identity, the very self, of John or Mary Doe resides in an inviolable entity we have always called spirit, or soul, which functions bodily and psychologically—besides spiritually—and has a unique relationship to one body and to the material world. This persuasion came from religious belief, specifically from Christianity. But it is no longer the operant and generally accepted persuasion about the self today.

It is the practitioners and theorists in medicine, psychology, anthropology, and science who now tell us what a self is. They, of course, treat and define the self solely in terms of physical and psychological conditions and functions. If we accept their view, and mimic their religious devotion to the mythical god of "objectivity" (whose face changes dramatically depending on the stance of the believer), we can look forward to the elimination of personal freedom and the end of this civilization.

You're Dead

An example—only one of many: Dr. William Gaylin, psychiatrist, president of the Institute of Society, Ethics, and the Life Sciences, is bothered by the waste of usable parts in the two million dead human bodies which we bury or cremate every year in these United States. We need spare parts—hearts, lungs, livers, kidneys, other organs, limbs, and blood, for the still living but critically ill. Furthermore, we lack "live models" on which medical students, while in training, can practice.

Dr. Gaylin's concern, then, is for a real need and springs from humanitarian impulses. That being the case, Dr. Gaylin reasons, we can harvest the dead. And we can open up a new era of well-being and longevity for some people at least. If we can just get over the difficulties, most of which are purely psychological and cultural (this includes "religious").

But one chief difficulty is the sheer waste that comes from our unwillingness to say, "John Doe, Mary Doe, you're useless. We declare your self at an end. You're dead." In other words, Dr. Gaylin's proposal is for a radical willingness to redefine death. To put it back to the point in the process of dying where it will do us some real good. Let's see now. At the moment we need some "spare parts" and more blood. Everything is still working pretty well when all cortical function ceases. How about that for a good humanitarian definition of death (for now at least)? Your cortex stops working. You can't spell Philadelphia. You're dead.

Imagine the boon! An entire population of such "decorticates" *already* lies in our hospitals, classified as the incurably ill. Of course, to avoid confusion—and to avoid premature burial which would destroy the whole reason for the exercise of redefining death—we would call these living dead "neomorts."

That much understood, then, go ahead and use them while they live—or while you keep them alive in their "dead" condition: one by one, extract their bone marrow, blood, skin, corneas, cartilage, livers, kidneys, hearts. Use them to manufacture hormones or to grow and store lymphoid components. The sky is the limit. After all, you have decided they are no longer human persons.

You're not ready for anything so radical? All right. Easy stages. Keep the present definition of brain death—I mean the courts agree increasingly on it; but keep the body warm! With that one small modification, look at the supply of intact living bodies with destroyed brains that come our way each American year: 113,000 accidentally killed, 24,000 suicides, 18,000 homicides, 210,000 cerebrovascular accidents. Many of these brains are totally dead; but we can keep the bodies warm, respirating, pulsating, excreting, and evacuating for years on a "farm" or in a "bioemporium" (purists, Dr. Gaylin observes with delicate regard, may prefer "bioemporion"). We can develop new nursing, dietary, and general grooming attention for our "neomorts" (and our own odd sensibilities), while we go ahead harvesting limbs and organs, etc.

Fantastic? Perhaps. But the morality which provides the basis for the only effective brake to nightmares being redefined as dreams finds itself badly off center and often reeling from heavy blows. As Dr. Gaylin rightly warns, "the proponents of this view will be mobilized with a force that may seem irresistible." To any objection, they will reply: "You just don't like our technology. But we don't like your revulsion. It is inappropriate, subjective, culturally conditioned, and nonhumanitarian." And to give Dr. Gaylin his due, he is telling us the grim truth: we will shortly be faced with a choice between our revulsion and this "technology."

A Legislated Self

To answer the only remaining question Dr. Gaylin seems to have, the revulsion to his proposal is *not* the same as that which greeted the early attempts at abdominal surgery, painless childbirth, Lister's attack on the "laudable pus," and anatomical research. The revulsion here concerns an attack on the self as the quintessence of our hopes and the basis of our personal salvation, and our sensing of a shortsighted manipulation that intends to blow civilization and culture apart at the seams and make all human living as we have known it an unbearable contradiction.

For the new technology would insist on defining the self as just a complex scale of psychophysical acts or attributes. A court of law or a medical board or any other elite could decide that at any given point on any given scale the human self had ceased to be.

When we accept the idea that the personhood of a human being rests merely on a legal decision—as we did in the abortion issue—and not on the recognition of something greater than the merely human, something divine and loving which the law may or may not recognize but tampers with only at

(Continues on page 61)

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Arts & Manners

DELECTATIONS

NIKA HAZELTON

Choirs of Angels

Christmas always reminds me of the infinite variety among angels. There are curly headed Italian ones, blond German ones, slender, athletic Scandinavian ones, elegant French ones, somber and withdrawn Russian and Greek ones, Flemish ones with pointed noses and a preoccupied expression, Spanish ones with large lustrous eyes. How do I know? From looking at pictures of angels, who must be among the most often portrayed creatures in, well, creation.

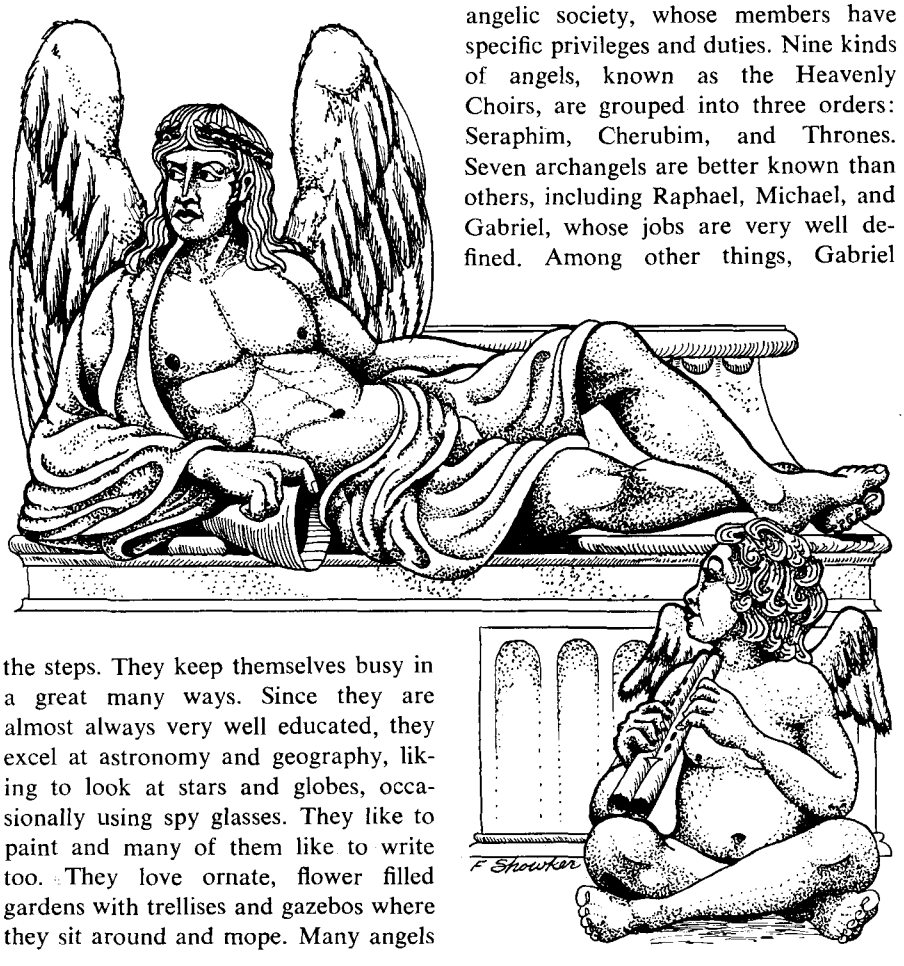
Despite their variety, angels have certain physical traits in common. When young, they are usually dimpled, naughty little boys. As they grow older, they slim down and their hair falls in loose waves. Some adult angels are splendid, strong, masculine beings, but there is never even a trace of down on their smooth faces. Was there ever a bearded angel or, for that matter, an old one? Not that I know of.

Angels care a lot about their appearance. Even the most tousle-haired little ones drape the folds of their garments prettily. Older angels sometimes wear princely garments: embroidered robes, shining armor, and neat sandals. They always have well brushed hair, and they rather fancy it, to judge from the way they wave it or catch it in embroidered hair fillets and never muss it even in flight. And angels are very particular about the way they arrange their wings at all times. Of course they echo the fashions of the countries they come from. Italian angels are given to airy pastel robes (in Venice, saffron is their favorite color); Nordic angels to rich, sumptuous, and voluminous draperies. In the words of Mrs. Jameson, a Victorian lady writer who studied angels: "Flight, in such robes, seems as difficult as it would be to swim in coronation robes."

In spite of their often exceedingly splendid wings—two or three tiers, with peacock-tail eyes, elegantly monotoned or delicate or gaudy in color (I've seen angels with as many as nine colors in their wings)—angels fly relatively little. The little ones are earthbound like domestic fowls, and most others simply hover serenely, though some adult angels fly like jets through the air.

The living habits of angels are interesting. They like to live in large, airy mansions, with long flights of stairs, on which they go up and down constantly, unless they are sitting or crouching on the steps. They keep themselves busy in a great many ways. Since they are almost always very well educated, they excel at astronomy and geography, liking to look at stars and globes, occasionally using spy glasses. They like to paint and many of them like to write too. They love ornate, flower filled gardens with trellises and gazebos where they sit around and mope. Many angels seem to have a gentle, melancholy character and tend to sleep a great deal. They like animals, and are often seen taming wild beasts (and looking proud of it). They do not seem to hunt, fish, or swim, though they are frequently found near fishermen and shipwrecked persons. They adore dancing, alone or in groups big or small; they also like to play with toys. They never eat, though they like to have fruit around.

Whatever their age or their mission (guarding the gates of Paradise, delivering the Annunciation, punishing Lucifer, accompanying children), angels are passionate musicians. They play instruments, showing a preference for stringed ones and for trumpets. Italian angels are the most musical ones, going in for cymbals, lutes, pipes, harps, even portable organs. They also sing a great deal, alone, in duets, or in heavenly choirs.



We don't know how many angels there are, apart from Daniel's revelation: "Thousand thousands ministered unto Him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before Him." But the Scriptures and the Fathers of the Church tell us of a highly organized angelic society, whose members have specific privileges and duties. Nine kinds of angels, known as the Heavenly Choirs, are grouped into three orders: Seraphim, Cherubim, and Thrones. Seven archangels are better known than others, including Raphael, Michael, and Gabriel, whose jobs are very well defined. Among other things, Gabriel

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dictated the Koran to Mohammed, and is recognized by his followers.

Cousins to angels are the winged creatures of the Chaldeans, Assyrians and Babylonians, Egyptians and Etruscans, many of whom like to show themselves as lions or other animals, or as warriors. There are also Persian angels, dressed in splendid brocades and plumed turbans. We know that there are angels in Islam, but they cannot be portrayed, so we don't know much about them.

Space forbids me to go into the influence angels have had in our lives. Suffice it to say that they are our standard of perfection, for are we not forever wishing that our loved ones were more like angels? Besides, there must be something of the angels in man, for why are children angels on some days (though not on others)? And why do the French say about a woman's nature: "a young angel, an old devil"? □

FILM

DAVID BRUDNOY

Stoned

He may be the only white rock 'n' roll performer in the world to approach his audience hopping backward, or prostrate himself on the floor between verses. Mick Jagger, who has no voice and cannot, so to speak, sing, can and does excite an audience like no one else. Poured into his tabby-gold silks; red and white fringy prayer shawls swaying from neck and waist; silver chains first as choker, then the next and the next and the next descending down to a midsection which either is positioned like none other or else reflects a tailor with a very special idea of how to package the area 'twixt navel and thigh; shod in white bucks or pumps, Mick exudes not so much the air of the bizarre as an aura of mythic, priapic divinity.

In 1972 the Rolling Stones toured America, leaving the usual residue of riots, drug busts, police-kiddie hassles, and sour feelings among the citizenry. They arrived the first night in Boston some four hours late, fogged out here, forced to land in Rhode Island where they tussled with a photographer and wound up in jail. Boston's Mayor Kevin White arranged their release, fearing riots in his already riot-torn city (Puerto Ricans, that go-round), then did his John Lindsay number at the Garden; when they arrived, finally, the Mayor described Mick as a "quiet, shy, gentle person," after which they did their number and vanished into the night. I saw the show the next night, temperature nearly 100 indoors as well as outside, following a super hour of Stevie Wonder bedecked in a fez and sequined caftan and shades, a Shriner in blackface whose voice retains hints of his prepubescent beginnings.

Then the Stones, in an unforgettable show that summer of '72, now brought to the screen in *Ladies and Gentlemen, the Rolling Stones*, the quintessential rock concert movie because it is *just* their concert—no audience hysterics, no behind-the-scenes depictions of their rehearsals, spats with the police, adoring groupies assembled to make the plaster casts. Just ninety minutes of the very best of what is probably the very best rock group in the world. In a chain of films about concerts stretching from *Woodstock* five years ago, through *Gimme Shelter*, also with the Stones, to the current *Pink Floyd*, this realizes the full potential of the genre simply by making the film medium the concert message: music alone. Plus, of course, the lights, which contribute to making Their Satanic Majesties appear as evil as possible.

Possibly this sort of film will impress more those who have seen the Stones in concert than those who haven't. I remember sharply the wave of adoring fans nearly invading the stage when the Stones appeared; a human wall of guards, hands on the stage, arms locked, blocked the kids from leaping at Jagger and devouring him alive. Constant levitations, swoonings, even non-grass-smokers getting high on the omnipresent odor of the stuff, people trying to match Jagger's every prance, pounce, pout, wiggle, shimmy, hop, skip, leap. If he couldn't scream better than anyone around he would still make it just by moving; he has *invented* ways of getting from here to there. Bony hands on kidneys, epicene wrist-flicks that no other male performer west of David Bowie would dare display, nose-thumbing to the worshipers: Jagger's retinue of quivers and slithers defies description, and much of it comes beautifully across in *Ladies and Gentlemen, the Rolling Stones*.

What is missing from the movie is, of course, the audience participation: the kids playing mini-star of the moment, the little yelps—ooop!, eeeuueep!, hoooop!—when the spirit and Mick's bump 'n' grind routine moved them. What *is* there is the muffling of the lyrics—you have to *know* Stones lyrics to understand more than a fraction in the film—the euphoria, the violence charging the air, the sexual exhibitionism joined by little-boy pouts. In a full movie theater, filled with the right audience, the film cannot help but evoke a response familiar to all who frequent rock concerts. The Stones' power may be disturbing, but it is undeniable. □

DRESS

SUSAN S. McDONALD

Hats and Manners

Bare heads, like bare breasts, are wanton, casual, accessible, overt. Covered heads are modest, prudent, impenetrable, covert. So it is hard, in this immodest age, to conceive of the full scale return of hats, even though the fashion seers warn us that we'll all be bereted and cloche-knitted this season. Women may be as submissive as ever to the dictates of haute couture (though I sense a new indifference to changing

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fashions in this pennywise period) and, indeed, they may welcome the subterfuge of hats after years of prominent hair. Still, it seems to me that the time is not ripe for hats: at least not serious hats, although our fashion whimsy may incline us momentarily toward the dash and theatricality of a shady brim. Contemporary social life is not austere or classist enough to sustain the fashion honestly.

Hats are mechanisms for displaying a modest respect for social norms or the social hierarchy, a symbol whose manipulation (addition or removal) indicates reverence, as in the presence of a god or a lady. Hats are coy—circumspect as a fig leaf—so doffing and donning are social, sexual acts. (Men disclose their sex before ladies; ladies conceal theirs before God.) Therefore, hats and the elaborate signaling system associated with them are incompatible with bare breasts, casual see-through-feel-through clothes, easy intimacy. Nothing may be taken for granted when a woman wears a serious hat seriously.

Discount, of course, the frivolous, impish summer hat which merely parodies the real thing, or the knit stocking cap loved for its utility in winter. Test of a serious hat: would you wear it with something really casual—a sundress, your minimalist cutoffs? A serious hat is not made sport of. Even berets, which are ambiguous, middle of the road fashions, have a certain gravity, a certain presumption.

Hats, like all accessories, are purposeful—cues signifying the extent to which your entire costume is to be taken seriously. A shabby presentation is acceptable, may be virtually discounted, if it's clear that no effort has been expended. But accessories, because they involve effort, also signify intention. If you are wearing a hat, or a strand of pearls for that matter, it always counts. Hats don't permit equivocation. When you wear a hat, your best foot must be forward or you risk disgrace.

Hats convey formality and restraint. Recall the late night movies. Hatted women have titles: Miss So-and-so. Their first names are guarded as jealously as their virtue. Their shoulders are padded, secure as their heads under big brims of feathered cloches. Hats command respect, elicit caution, discourage trespass.

Hats confer dignity, social distance, hauteur—so they are, perversely, austere. That is why they have generally skirted the perimeters of fashion in these last two affluent decades. (Jackie Kennedy's serene pillbox—the last of the great hats—was a fashion born of benevolent autocracy, fealty, dynastic rule.) If the current economic situation should burgeon into something drastic and prolonged, hard times will inspire renewed dignity and modesty of costume to compensate for loss of personal security. Citizens who wear hats don't question the order of things, don't speculate, ideologize, work themselves loose from the traditional social fabric. Only rich societies wrest etiquette from couture, delegate fashionable decisions to the individual. Only filthy-rich societies wrest status from formalism and regalia, go minimalist.

Hats imply adulthood (or the studied mimicry of adulthood found in toddler clothes). No one wears hats in an age where the transition from youth to maturity is gradual, at times imperceptible. Like the right to intercourse, the right to wear a hat fashionably and seriously was once a privilege conferred with adulthood. Members of socially undifferentiated societies, impatient with class distinctions of any kind—economic, social, or maturational—do not wear hats.

HATS WILL, of course, look marvelous on fashion models. And why not? Fashion models are posed and snapped in a social vacuum, then pickled like lab specimens in glossy pages. There can be no incongruities in a fashion photo because there are no consequences, no social context at all. The model may appear compatible with contemporary social values in her press-on red lips and big hat. But the conflict has been artfully disguised, freeze-framed. She looks good but she's lying. (Only Bianca Jagger and her friends in the pop demimonde can live and look at odds with society. Extreme wealth has marginalized them beyond moral recognition or consequence.)

The studiously modish may take up hats. There are always women who use haute couture as an act of belligerence or irony, as a way of distancing themselves from conventional social interaction. Or perhaps stylish young women who dress for the camera (middle class fantasies are cinematic) will wear an occasional tailored brim—nothing various and flamboyant like my mother's postwar collection. But I don't see how the rest of us fashion-weary ladies can wear hats until the social order changes, and, once again, we veil our breasts and return to the chaste, autocratic milieu of the late night movies. □

Susan Schwartz McDonald *is studying for her PhD in communications at the University of Pennsylvania.*

The Best of TIMES The Worst of TIMES

'Tis the season now, by golly,
To be gay (old sense) and jolly;
Yet the *New York Times* views grayly
News it prints (if fit to) daily.
'Twixt bright ads for costly glitter,
Ads that set tycoons atwitter,
Peep its good gray tidings mournful,
Rueful, monitory, scornful.
Who's informed, who lured, who bored
Depends upon whose Ochs has scored.

—CORINNA MARSH

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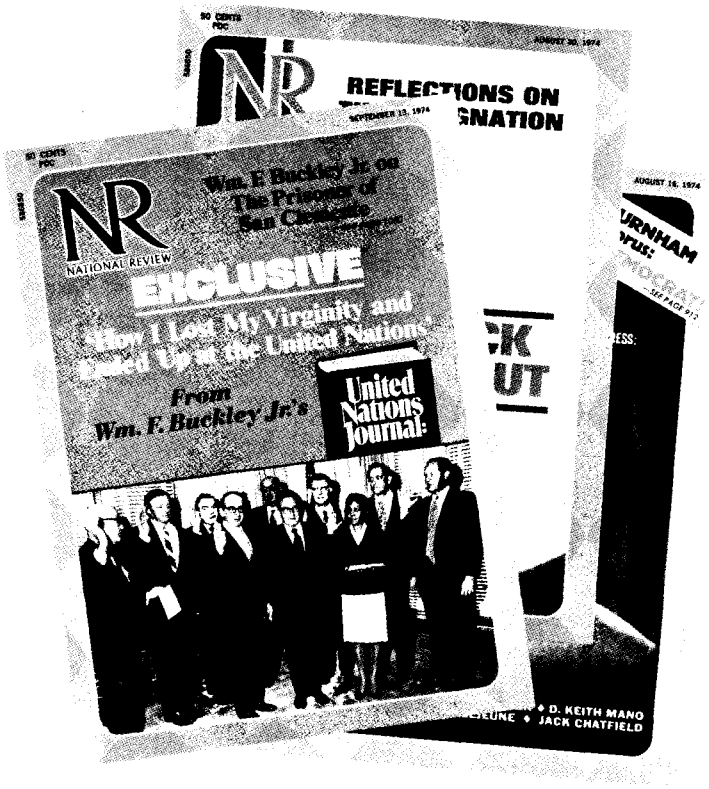

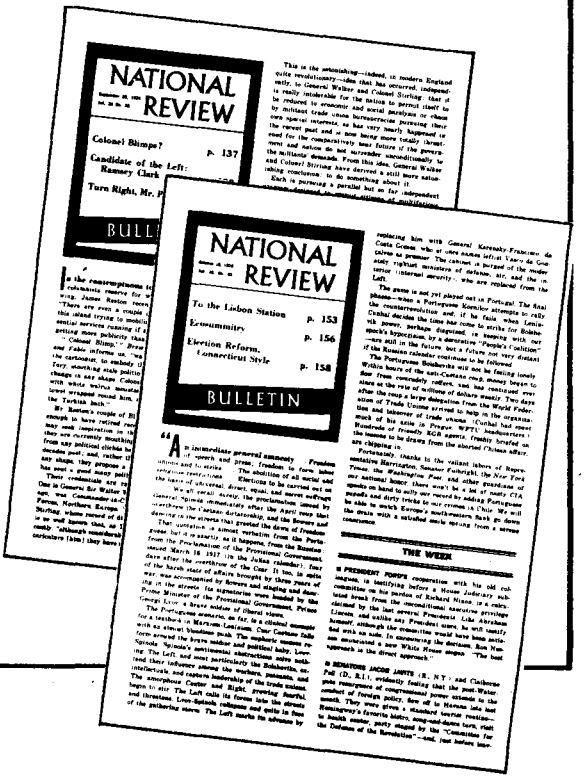

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BOOKS

The Artifice of Modernity

The Ordeal of Civility
By John Murray Cuddihy
Basic Books, 272 pp., $11.95

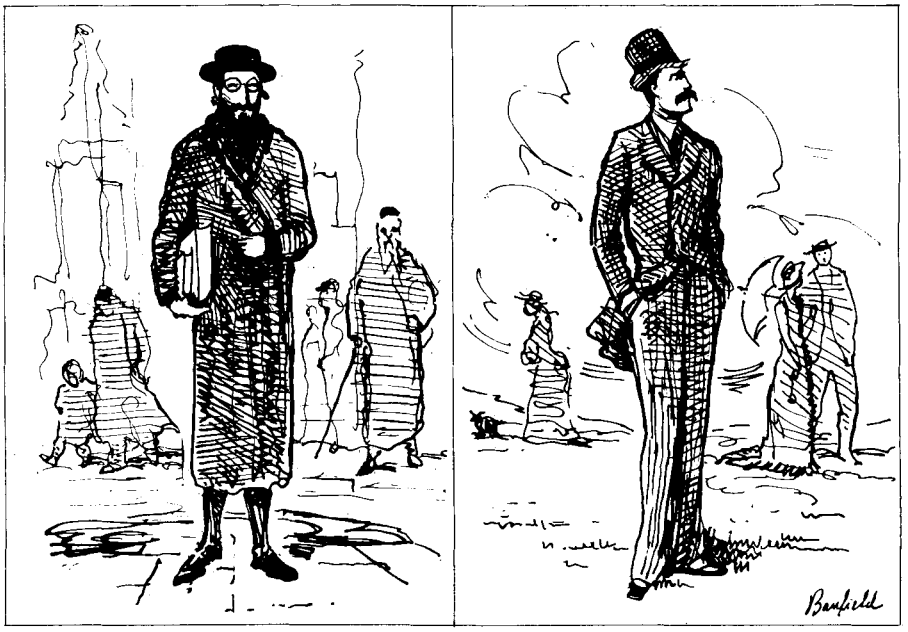
JAMES BURNHAM

Lots and lots of books are written. I read somewhere that 28,000 or maybe it was 38,000 were published in this country alone last year, and it must be going on a million in the world. By a rough approximation, 99.3 per cent do not stir the faintest ripple as they drop into the river of Time. The remaining 0.7 per cent may make an addition to the store of knowledge or beauty, but no particular one of them would be missed. But every now and then, not often enough to have a place on the percentage tables, there is a book that counts, that makes a difference. Because of it, things are henceforth changed somewhat; the course of the river has been altered by a small (it could not be more than small) but irreversible degree.

The Ordeal of Civility—the title is perfect in rhetoric and accuracy—is a book of this sort. It does not matter whether it gets big reviews (it has had none, so far as I know, as I write a month after publication date) or whether many people read it. Probably not very many will, since it is difficult and rather slow to read—not from any clumsiness or murk, but because of the subtlety of Cuddihy's thought and the layered denseness of his prose. But enough will, and will reread it; and through them what Cuddihy is saying will seep into the general awareness. The difference made by some of these occasional books that count is pragmatic, furthering a change in the outer world. *The Ordeal of Civility* belongs to another variety, which changes our way of understanding the world.

To try to summarize *The Ordeal of Civility* is almost inevitably to distort or even falsify. Cuddihy has built his book like Yeats's perne in a gyre, or one of those marine creatures building its involuted, spiral shell. He continually circles back toward the epigraphs that are his starting point, but in each sweep he is refining his analysis and extending its thrust to new layers of meaning.

In the narrowest sense (which is, God knows, wide enough) Cuddihy has made an interpretation of Freud (at greatest length), Marx, and (briefly) Claude Lévi-Strauss. He shows that their systems are not science but ideologies, emerging from the cultural collision brought about when the Jews, through the Emancipation that began in the late eighteenth century and still continues, left the tribal community life (the *shtetl*) of the pale and ghetto (where "life-is-with-people") to enter the urban public space (where "life-is-with-strangers") of the modernized, secularized-Protestant West. The economic and political stages of Emancipation were comprehensible and predictable; the problems could be solved rationally by extension of the franchise and removal of restrictions on the professions, landholding, etc. But as the economic and political problems were solved or solving, the Jewish pariah-become-parvenu, to the surprise and consternation of Jewry and Goyim alike, ran head on into a mysterious and incomprehensible barrier: the Protestant Etiquette (public behavior and civility), for which nothing in the life experience of the *shtetl* could have prepared him: "That seemingly most superficial of things, the polite surface of Western social intercourse: 'Hello,' 'Goodbye,' 'Nice to see you,' 'Beg your pardon,' 'Would you mind if I . . .,' 'My view, on the other hand, is rather that . . .' It is this *surface* of the *bürgerliche Gesellschaft* [bourgeois society] that bugs and infuriates each generation of *shtetl* Jewry emancipated into the West. Somehow this civil surface is nothing, a mere appearance, a



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mere concern for how one 'looks' before someone (anyone, a 'stranger'): this civil, polite surface is nothing—yet somehow, mysteriously, everything. It seems to carry, in secret, secularized form, the very meaning of European civilization."

In this *Kulturkampf* and its attendant trauma, the Jewish intellectuals serve as mediators between their people and the Goyim, and as interpreters. Some, and among these the giants Marx, Freud, and Lévi-Strauss, rebel and in their rebellion transmute the shock of the emancipation conflict into a magnetic ideology. The ideology is at once "an effort at apologetics, addressed to the 'Gentile of good will' and designed to reinterpret, excuse, or otherwise explain to him the otherwise questionable public 'look' of emancipating Jewry," an assault on the culture of the Goyim, and a program of change ("wholesale revolutionary change in the case of Marx, retail individual change in the case of Freud").

THE IDEOLOGY is in each case offered as universalist science (scientific socialism, scientific psychology, scientific anthropology), but its "primal scene" is the specific drama of the emancipation process. "Freudianism, like Marxism, supplied the transformation formulas by which the 'Jewish question'—that is, the *normative* 'social conflicts' of emancipating Jewry (their 'offensive behavior')—could be translated into *cognitive* 'scientific problems.' In this way, ritual social interaction offenses were 'accounted for' as 'depth' problems for which the offending parties were not responsible. Social conflict—i.e., the 'Jewish problem'—was thus honorably buried in cognitive structures. Social delicts became mental symptoms. Relations in public became public relations."

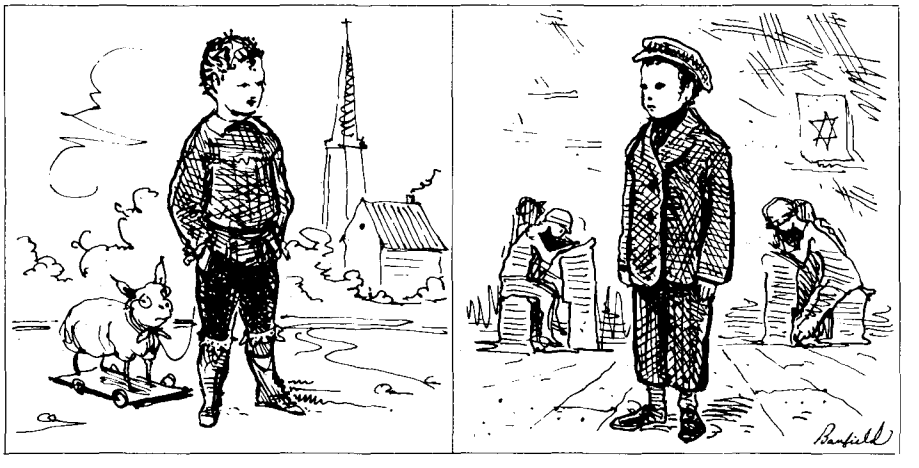
Freudianism presents as universal elements of the human psyche the unruly id (=Yid) in conflict with the censorial superego (=Protestant Etiquette). The restraints imposed by the superego are an evasion and hypocrisy, giving rise to anxiety and neurosis. Civilization inevitably produces its discontents; but, Freud concludes in one of his last works, we will have to accept them, calling on psychoanalytic therapy to help us over the worst bumps.

Marx carries his rebellion all the way. Translating the primal conflict into social instead of individual categories, he declares that the hypocrisy, greed, and cruelty (of corrupted Jews as well as Christians) that are the reality behind the fig leaf of civility must be eliminated, and can only be eliminated, by the total overthrow of existing society. "Marxists planned to kill the 'Jewish question' by revolution, not [like the Zionists] by emigration: at one stroke, all would be changed, changed utterly, as a species-humane community is born." Lévi-Strauss' verdict on modern secular Western society is, theoretically, as total as Marx's. He "has, in effect, transferred the experience of religio-cultural inferiority into an incognito: in the *persona* of his supposititious savages he castigates the West . . . and moves a) *back* to the primitives, and b) *up* into the platonic heaven of ahistorical structuralism."

Cuddihy's unraveling of Lévi-Strauss, Marx, and Freud is a marvel of virtuosity; his procedure, often, resembles the semantic probing of the old New Criticism—of Richard Blackmur, Yvor Winters, Kenneth Burke, Allen Tate, John Crowe Ransom, and their friends, with several of whom Cuddihy has been associated as student or friend. But though his detailed analysis concentrates, as the jacket subhead declares, on "Freud, Marx, Lévi-Strauss, and the Jewish struggle with modernity," Cuddihy's net is cast more widely, and much deeper. "If there are unique elements in the story of the Jewish struggle with modernity, there are, nevertheless, parallels with other peoples," he notes, and he advances toward more general theory by "two exploratory probes in comparative analysis: Jews and Irish . . . compared as latecomers to modernity, and secular Jewish intellectuals . . . viewed as a modernizing elite, involving a comparison of Jewish Emancipation and the 'new nations' of the post-World War II period." He includes also a bravura chapter—"Jews, Blacks, and the Cold War at the Top"—which uses Bernard Malamud's novel, *The Tenants*, as a compass to locate the strategic position of the American black community, the West's most recently decolonized subculture.

AND IT IS not only the subcultures and the external colonies that feel the pangs of the encounter with the artifice of modernity. "Socialization into modernity is, at best, a difficult matter. It is least difficult, perhaps, for the member of the WASP core culture descended from Calvinist Christianity. They, in a sense, are 'ego-syntonic' to [in harmony with the wave length of] modernity. They alone were 'present at the creation.' For the rest of us, it is more or less costly, more or less rewarding. . . . All of us are only relatively modern. . . . All of us are witness to the profanation of our sacred particularities; all of us suffer the pathos of the secularization process."

"Ostensibly about Jewry and what Jews call 'assimilation,' this study," Cuddihy sums up, "is, in the end, only methodologically Judaeocentric. Like Weber rummaging in India and China and ancient Israel, all the while on the prowl for his Calvinist and gleeful at *not* finding him—thus demonstrating once again the uniqueness of the West—my central interest also lies in the West and in the religious idea-and-value system secularized into its modernizing structure. We learn what this civilization is, in good part, from a study of the titans who, like Marx, hurled themselves against it or who, like Freud, grudgingly consented to its 'discontents.'" □



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FICTION

Myron
By Gore Vidal
Random House, 244 pp., $6.95

IT'S ADVERSARY, BUT IS IT ART?

D. KEITH MANO

Gore Vidal is such a *bitch*. Myron, the male flip side of Myra Breckinridge, gets nudged through his Late Show TV screen, plunk into 1948 and *Siren of Babylon*—a pretend MGM film that ranks right up there with Cadillac fishtails for artistic wallop. Well, you can just *imagine* what golden, goosey things happen on the MGM back lot in this Cheesit of transsexual sci-fi. Gore just can't stop; mentally he suffers from premature ejaculation. Myron and Myra share one body like Cox and Box. In alternate chapters they try to break each other's lease. The Myra half sets out on a crusade to rescue MGM and, simultaneously, to defuse the population bomb by slicing both rehnquist and powells off every 1948 male she/he can put its wicked sutures on.

Rehnquist and powells . . . Got it? And women have a whizzer white without which, of course, they couldn't perform burgery. Gore is so frightened by the Supreme Court decision on pornography that "I have replaced the missing bad words with some very good words indeed: the names of the justices." It's an occupational disease, like silicosis: in order to write, liberal novelists must run scared. They, and the football player on greenies, can't function unless in a heightened state of excitement. Liberal fiction, having no profound symbolic or spiritual roots, nourishes itself with institutionalized paranoia. It's an adversary art. Never mind that nowhere in this great, spread-eagled land has the Supreme Court decision had one appreciable effect. Linda Lovelace still gets work. You don't see Al Goldstein wearing a fake mustache. Never mind, Gore Vidal is up to his shapely blackmun in *alarm*.

Indeed fear characterizes the *Siren of Babylon* set. *Myron* isn't gay fiction; it's the fiction of neuters. These are Candy Darling types, better at handcrafting personae than at seduction—not tattooed and predatory 8th Avenue cruisers. Despite the explicit (though childishly euphemized) language, there is no enthusiasm for burgering. Vidal's characters approach sex the way prepubic boys do, half nervous, half titillated, structurally incompetent. Vidal has posited overpopulation as the excuse for his unisexlessness. Enough Vidals and India would be a subcontinental parking lot within two generations. It's fear of contact, of human sharing, particularly of fatherhood and the concomitant responsibilities. A privateness without privates: Myra is terrified by semen. Like meticulously made-up women who won't risk an embrace, neuter personae are fragile and can't survive mussing.

Style, most often plagiarized from a 1940s film scenario, has been the special business of neuters. In *Myron* one young woman says, "Only a pansy would've noticed." It's true. They see. Neuters, more than any American ethnic subgroup, appreciate the outward form of things. I get my hair cut in a pansy place that's cleverly stage set to mimic some World War II cocktail lounge. Hell, they do a better job; they have a feel for it, they *care*. Preoccupied with more substantial matters, we delegate our hair, our clothing, our room interiors—once the realm of women—to neuter scenarists. It isn't an insignificant transaction. Style influences with devastating subtlety. And it's symptomatic of this neuter influence that the designs we wear bowdlerize sexual traits, male and female. In fact Myra's crazy, thwarted castration crusade is an emblem. We have been assimilated. For Christmas even the big, middle class department stores are pushing men's body jewelry.

CAMP IS primarily an invention of neuters. They distrust realism. It's a defense: pansies haven't been treated well by the real world. But for this very reason camp is dangerous: it enforces an unserious, burlesqued view of civilization. All events are entertainment. The Forties film wasn't corrupted by redeeming social values. Myra detests Sam Peckinpah's work for its macho violence. (Though Peckinpah's stylized slo-mo deaths are in fact as campy and artificial as a Warhol Brillo box.) If Nixon had carried a pocketbook, Vidal suggests, there would have been no Watergate. He's probably right. But there are, after all, worse things than Watergate.

Human diversity has been reduced. Neuters and Forties films cherish the total look: costumes and gestures and dialogue are coordinated. What we instinctively reject in fiction—the one-dimensional character—is prized by a camp stage designer. Shadings, contradictions spoil the effect. Batman, Spiderman, Dracula have had a vogue because their talents and emotional reactions are given. Besides, they don't die. This is the critical fear. Personae serve as a kind of mummification. They cosmetize human degeneration (and, unfortunately, human progress as well). Neuters don't immanentize the eschaton, they backdate it. Film is afterlife. You can see Marilyn Monroe, an arid skeleton by now, walk and talk, make glamorous love before your very eyes. It's a cheap, new resurrection of the body. Myra loves being trapped in *Siren of Babylon*: eight weeks' filming repeated, repeated. Stasis provides an immortality, rotproofed by style.

This is an intriguing document. The terms of our capitulation are implicit in it. As fiction, though, *Myron* is just a big crock of horse vidal. □

The Ebony Tower
By John Fowles
Little, Brown, 312 pp., $7.95

SKILLFUL ANGLER

RENE KUHN BRYANT

For those who, surveying the current scene in fiction, see only a wilderness of illiteracy populated by intellectual pygmies, John Fowles's *The Ebony Tower* should provide both reassurance and sustenance. It is a work of fiction that is neither novel nor novella nor even a collection of short stories in the usual sense of that term, although that comes closest. More than anything else, the book is like a deep, swift-flowing stream of thought and feeling which Fowles explores and plays like a patient, skillful angler.

Out of a richly furnished mind and a searching imagination, Fowles has contrived five variations on a single

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RANDOM NOTES

■ JUST OUT: J. H. Plumb portrays the first Hanoverian kings in *The First Four Georges* (Little, Brown, $17.50). . . . Hiroo Onoda, the Japanese lieutenant who surrendered 29 years late, tells his story in *No Surrender* ($7.95, Kodansha; distributed by Harper). . . . Low-profile wealth is the theme of David Farren's *The Warburgs* (Stein & Day, $8.95).

■ LOOKING TOWARD FEBRUARY. Viking claims that *Documents on Nazism 1919-1945*, selected by Jeremy Noakes and Geoffrey Pridham, is the first comprehensive collection in English ($12.95). . . . *He Gave Us Television* is a life of David Sarnoff by Carl Dreher (Coward, $15). . . . Cajus Bekker studies *The German Navy 1939-1945* for Dial ($12.50). . . . Ralph de Toledano's latest is *Hit and Run: The Rise—and Fall?—of Ralph Nader* (Arlington, $7.95). . . . *Grace and Favor* is a big survey of England's royalty by Jean Morris (McKay, $15). . . . Irene Mahoney's *Madame Catherine* is a life of Catherine de Medici (Coward, $12.50). . . . Brendan Gill recalls four decades *Here at the New Yorker* (Random, $10). . . . Taylor Caldwell pokes through the trunk, emerges with a novel penned when she was twelve, *The Romance of Atlantis*. Jess Stearn is listed as coauthor (Morrow, $6.95). . . . New Updike novel, *A Month of Sundays*, is about a troubled minister (Knopf, $6.95). . . . For Holt, Richard Ollard portrays *Samuel Pepys* ($10). . . . *The Promise of Joy* completes Allen Drury's series of political novels that began with *Advise and Consent* (Doubleday, $10). And the same house gives us James Cleugh reviewing 15 generations of *The Medici* ($9.95), while *Our Friend, Jacques Maritain* is recalled by his editor, Julie Kernan ($6.95), and Jonathan Daniel draws on his diaries for *White House Witness: 1942-1945* ($8.95).

■ PAPERBACKS. It took some 35 years, but now mass-market paperbacks are selling roughly for what hardbounds cost way back then. Two new Bantams, for instance: Harry Browne's *You Can Profit from a Monetary Crisis* goes for $2.25 and Rose Kennedy's *Times to Remember* (out next month) weighs in at $2.50. . . . *The Real Satan* by James Kallas recapitulates the Biblical view (Augsburg, March, $2.95). . . . William S. Hauser assesses *America's Army in Crisis* (John Hopkins, $2.95). . . . Image touts *A Hopkins Reader*, assembled by John Pick, as the most complete Gerard Manley Hopkins collection in one volume (Feb., $2.45). The same line reissues Fulton J. Sheen's *Lift Up Your Heart* (Feb., $1.75) and *The Spiritual Canticle* of St. John of the Cross in the definitive E. Allison Peers translation (Feb., $2.95). . . . Anchor reprints Irving S. Friedmann's *Inflation* (April, $2.50).

source, the Celtic romance, which he regards as the emotional and imaginative wellspring of all fictional forms that have followed after. Whether others would recognize a common base and see a web of intricate relationships among these five stories, without the prompting proffered in "a personal note" inserted in the middle of the book, is debatable. For here, as in his earlier books, especially *The Magus*, Fowles enjoys the enigmatic and plainly prefers puzzles to proofs, questions to answers.

WRITING as he does on several levels simultaneously, however, he can be read profitably either as accomplished storyteller, discriminating critic, cultural historian, philosopher, or, perhaps most enjoyably, as a synthesizer of all of these.

It must be stated at the outset that only in the title story of *The Ebony Tower* has Fowles been able to bring off a completely successful coalescence of all his extraordinary powers and gifts. Since his achievement in it is so dazzling, it is probably churlish to complain that the others do not match its marvels, especially when each of the remaining tales has other, if lesser, charms, and only one, "The Cloud," which ends the book, has to be accounted a failure.

"The Ebony Tower" begins with the arrival of David Williams, a successful young English artist-turned-art-historian, at the gates of a secluded French country house set deep in the woods of Brittany. He is there to spend a few days with its owner, Henry Breasley, an elderly, eccentric expatriate English painter who is commonly regarded as standing near to, if not actually among, the internationally recognized giants of mid-twentieth century art. David has been commissioned by the publishers to write the biographical and critical introduction to a book on Breasley's art. He has accepted the commission with some hesitation. His own style of painting—coolly abstract and highly rational—has little in common with Breasley's, and nothing he has heard about the man himself has made him sound admirable or even attractive. His reputation is of a hard-drinking, foul-mouthed womanizer, a man of extreme opinions fiercely held, tactless, quarrelsome, vain, and self-centered. Nevertheless, such is the quality of Breasley's talent that, rather suddenly in his later years, he has developed a wholly new vision and style of painting that has established him solidly among the modern masters. Out of an intuitive response to this style and a curiosity about its origins, David agrees to undertake the task.

OVER THE next two days David finds himself transformed by a series of subtle challenges to his most profound convictions about the nature of art, the purpose of life, the existence of sin, the meaning of fidelity. Some of the challenges are intellectual, some are psychological, some physical. Breasley is the source of some, while others derive from David's responses to a variety of encounters with two young English girls who share Breasley's household, studio, and bed, and still others from the physical setting of the house and the serenity that surrounds it. Fowles's immense skill at creating distinctive, complex, and utterly compelling characters sweeps the reader along with David into an irredeemable involvement with a world he meant only to visit casually, observe briefly, and take leave of with polite thanks.

Before the final resolution of the story is reached, David has been forced to reexamine and reassess most of the underpinnings of his professional and personal life and then must acknowledge himself unable to justify them. As he turns to what Fowles describes as "the relentless face of the present tense," every demand of successful fiction has been supplied—and amply. "The Ebony Tower," is, quite simply, a perfect story.

Of the other tales, only one, "Koko," can be discussed in the same terms. In it wanton barbarism is arrayed against an exaggeratedly refined cultivation and learning. A somewhat more than middle-aged literary critic, obscure, donnish, and WASPish, but wryly aware of his own shortcomings, has retired to a cottage in Dorset, borrowed from obliging friends, so that he may complete a long-planned biography of Thomas Peacock. On his first night

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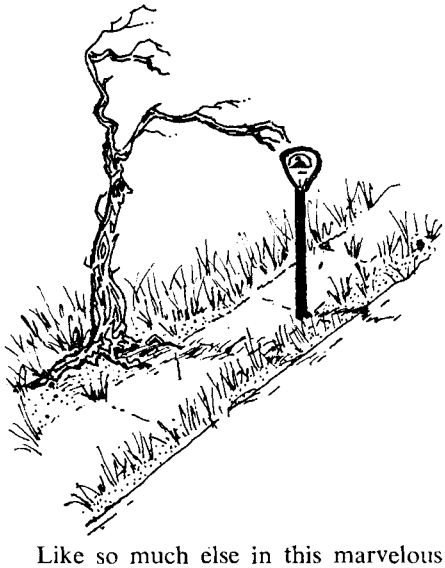
there he is awakened by a burglar who has broken into the cottage on the assumption that it is vacant.

An extraordinary scene ensues as the burglar first renders the critic helpless (he makes no attempt to resist) by confiscating his glasses, gagging him, and tying him to a chair, then engages him in a philosophic discussion of crime and society, and finally, having appropriated everything of value, proceeds methodically to exploit his victim's helplessness. As the anguished critic watches, the burglar burns every page of the draft of his Peacock manuscript, every file card of notes, every page of the small but select collection of annotated reference works he had assembled. Then, wordlessly, with only an inexplicable "thumbs up" gesture, he departs into the night.

HE IS NEVER caught, but the critic spends solid months attempting to arrive at a rational explanation of the experience. Eventually, he does, and in doing so, not only exorcises his own ghosts but provides Fowles with an opportunity to examine obliquely the consequences of the failure of education to sustain language as the primary form of human communication.



Like so much else in this marvelous book, his analysis is brilliant, disturbing, many-layered, and intensely provocative. The temptation to continue stringing superlatives to describe the quality of Fowles's fascination when all of his genius is concentrated, as it is in the best of these stories, is almost irresistible. Better perhaps to leave it that John Fowles is one of the few truly civilized writers practicing the craft of fiction today. □

The Roots of American Order
By Russell Kirk
Open Court, 534 pp., $15

THE RELIGIOUS ROOTS

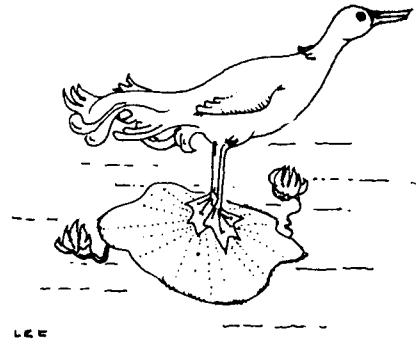
CHILTON WILLIAMSON JR.

Although before his translation into Chief Executive of the United States General Eisenhower generally went golfing on the seventh day, he nevertheless maintained on the hustings that "the Almighty takes a definite and direct interest day by day in the progress of the nation." A more reflective and articulate observer of the American scene, Alexis de Tocqueville, had noted more than a century before that "Religion in America takes no direct part in the government of society, but it must be regarded as the first of [Americans'] political institutions." It is Russell Kirk's well-considered conclusion that "All aspects of any civilization arise out of a people's religion. . . . All order . . . [grows] out of general belief in truths that are perceived by the moral imagination." It is thus our religious heritage, bequeathed us in its primal form by the ancient Hebrews, that is the taproot of American order.

An inspiring thesis. All across this broad land sales representatives from the publishing houses are desperately pushing their history titles on college professors, while the latter flog bored and cranky students with the dates of birth of saints and revolutions. A college traveler for my own publishing house recently informed me of a poll which says that today's undergraduate finds Adolf Hitler and Jesus Christ, in that order, the most fascinating of men. If Mr. Kirk's dissertation, and others like it, should catch fire, perhaps the link between Western history and the relevance the "kids" seek is ready to be forged.

"I will insist," John Adams wrote, "that the Hebrews have done more to civilize men than any other nation." It was their contribution—of immense proportion—to fuse the religious impulse with a sense of natural justice: to demonstrate, in Kirk's words, that "The law was not a punishment or an impressive burden imposed upon the people: on the contrary, it was the precious gift of Jehovah, by which Israel might exist in justice." Thus the Hebraic religion provided the justification that made ideas of civilized justice, and hence of right civil government, comprehensible. Although the ancient Greeks, for whom freedom meant the independence of a particular city-state, never learned to live among themselves in peace and justice, Plato and Aristotle did achieve a " 'leap in being' " rivaling that made by the Hebrew prophets: they recognized that "Man must order his soul in conformity with divine laws," and that the ideal state must be ordered in accordance with the human soul.

THIS SENSE of the ordering of human affairs under the Divine Right of God, and the more secular belief, expressed by Cicero, in "true law" as "right reason in agreement with Nature," were preserved during the Middle Ages by the Popes. Their task was made enormously easier by the writings of St.



Augustine, who, by explaining the distinctions between the realm of Caesar and the realm of God, weakened the tensions which the overweening ambition of the secularly minded and the millennial expectations of the chiliastic were wont to produce. The Reformation, despite its overtones of social resentments, was in actuality a reaffirmation of the raw beliefs of Christianity.

Thus the Puritans took with them to the American colonies the traditions of millennia, as well as the traditions and institutions of mere centuries such as parliament and the English Common Law. Although they flourished under the salutary neglect accorded them by England and created a culture that was genuinely their own, the American colonists remained steadfastly within what is often called "The Great Tradition." The Enlightenment in its more naively rational manifestations passed over their left shoulders. They studied John Locke, of course, and made polite gestures in his direction, but they were

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much more in sympathy with the theories of David Hume and Montesquieu. The effect of Montesquieu's writings on Americans—and on Englishmen too—was profoundly conservative, despite the inflammatory uses to which those writings were put by the opponents of France's *ancien régime*. He argued for the efficacy of custom and habit in the affairs of men and nations: "At bottom," says Kirk, "his understanding of natural law is religious."

The superficial radicalism of the Declaration of Independence, is, in Kirk's opinion, attributable to the inability of the colonists to call onto the carpet the ministers of George III: they had neither seats in Parliament nor the means of generating sympathy for their grievances among the British people. Thus they were compelled to rely upon appeals to natural law and to Nature's God. And yet Kirk argues that the law appealed to in the Declaration, howsoever invoked, is far closer to the traditional concept of "right reason" than to the dictates of the Jacobinical "Goddess Reason."

The social and political tensions in nineteenth century America, which eroded the religious matrix described by Tocqueville, were largely produced by the abundant possibilities that vast material advantages seemed to offer Americans. And yet "it was one thing . . . to free the individual enterpriser for the material development of the country. It proved quite another for the individual to get along without noneconomic values of life that had been embedded in the old social order." At the same time, it began to become apparent that the militantly antieconomic, "humanitarian" values of the socialist brethren were incompatible with American traditions.

THE TRUTH of this perception dawned gradually upon the reformer Orestes Brownson—forever immortalized in the senior thesis of Arthur Schlesinger *fils*. Brownson predated George Bernard Shaw in his erroneous belief that the moral tenets of Christianity, when applied to the social order, ought by right to produce socialism. But Brownson came gradually around to the view that democratic principles were tugged into shapelessness by attempts to stretch them to their so-called logical conclusions. "The humanitarian," Brownson decided, "is by definition a person who denies that any divine order exists. Having rejected the supernatural order and the possibility of a Justice more than human, the humanitarian tends to erect Envy into a pseudomoral principle. It leads him, this principle of envy, straight toward a dreary tableland of featureless social equality." Neither a swollen entrepreneurism nor romantic egalitarianism nor the careful technology of the Benthamites was a natural part of the American order.

IT IS NOT, I suppose, a startling idea that religions should be the formative influence in the development of societies and nations. Even in its least orthodox and elaborate forms, religion represents the attempt to work out first questions, questions so fundamental that their answers, however weakly posited, are necessary for the formulation of further questions of a governmental, legal, intellectual, or aesthetic nature. Once these questions have been answered, however tentatively, they draw all others about them. Priests have always been the first thinkers. The religious impulse seems to run as deep in men as does the sexual. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

LIBERTY TWO, *by Robert Lipsyte (Simon & Schuster, 287 pp., $7.95)*. Good plot, intriguing characters, superb visual qualities that will translate easily into a first rate film, authentic dialogue, a thoughtful and detailed picture of contemporary American society, and above all, with its Watergate analogies, timeliness. *Liberty Two* should make a mint. Charles Rice, a former astronaut, stood on the moon and had a vision. "Tonight," he broadcast back to earth from the moon's pure surface, "I have seen the earth plain. I have seen the purposelessness, the decay, the corruption . . . The time has come for a second American Revolution." Rice returns to earth to lead that revolution. Dressed in a silver jumpsuit and stumping through America in a converted schoolbus, he gradually attracts an army of followers, a blend of the Wallace and McGovern constituencies, disaffected Americans ready to march on Washington. Rice is the quintessential fascist leader—charismatic, pure, single-minded, somehow managing to evoke both fear and adoration. Not an easy character for a novelist to draw. But Lipsyte handles the problem adeptly by telling Rice's story through a troubled and complex narrator, Cable, a figure much like Jack Burden in *All the King's Men*. A fascinating novel, especially if you believe that a large lumpenproletariat has developed in America, aching for some way to vent its frustrations; that a significant number of Americans have lost faith in their elected officials and in the political process itself; and that therefore the time is right for a man on horseback. If these things were true, and if that man were to appear, one suspects that he'd be much like Charles Rice.

JOHN R. COYNE JR.

SUBJECT TARGET: HEYDRICH, *by Miroslav Ivanov (Macmillan, 291 pp., $7.95)*. This is at least the third volume to rehearse the 1942 assassination of Reinhard Heydrich, Nazi "protector" of Bohemia and Moravia, by a team of Czech volunteers parachuted out of England. First published in France, the work of a Czech journalist and author, the book consists of (apparently) taped interviews with anyone that the author could ferret out, from coal merchant to chemistry instructor, who had played any role in the drama. Intercalated are his background summary of the planning that preceded the coup and running accounts of the atmosphere in the Protectorate as the German hunt for the killers gathered momentum—"one of the most blood-stained periods of modern Czech history." The ultimate effect of this procession of first person narratives is not unmoving, and there are 28 clear photographs. However, the personality of the central villain is scarcely touched on. There is no bibliography, annotation, or index. Buffs will still need to consult Alan Burgess' *Seven Men at Daybreak* (1961) and Jan Wiener's *The Assassination of Heydrich* (1969)

CURTIS CAROLL DAVIS

TONGUES OF FALLEN ANGELS, *by Selden Rodman (New Directions, 271 pp., $12)*. These conversations with 12 of Rodman's favorite authors are as fascinating as they are infuriating. I disagree with much of Rodman's aesthetic; I have never heard any 100 people talk about Walt Whitman as much as these 13 people do, and I never want to again; and I dislike Rodman's habit of tossing out highly disputable critical judgments as if they were self-evident. In describing a conversation with Jorge Luis Borges, for example, he says: "He'd quote a war poem by Browning; I'd quote 'a better poet, Owen.'" Owen who? *Wilfred* Owen? This comes on page 13 and you might be tempted to give up there, but don't. Rodman extracts from his interlocutors—besides Borges, they include Ernest Hemingway, Pablo Neruda, Robert Frost, and Gabriel García Márquez—some important insights that will probably appear nowhere else in print. And for all the book's flaws, it achieves Rodman's aim, and the aim of all serious literary criticism: it makes you want to read (most of) the people he writes about; makes it impossible, for example, to dismiss Pablo Neruda (as I always had, without having read him) as more ideologue than poet.

LINDA BRIDGES

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BY HAROLD R. PORTER

HOW ALMOST ANYONE CAN PROFIT FROM INFLATION, RECESSIONS, AND DEPRESSIONS

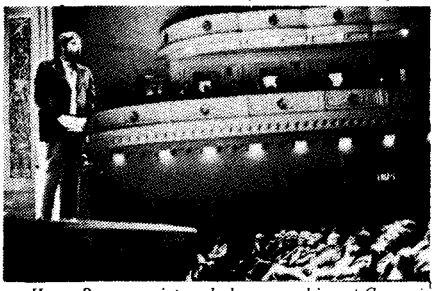
Welcome aboard! The fact that you are going to read this article means there is a good chance you will proceed with its advice. Proceeding with the advice in the article means that you may be among the few who will not only avoid financial disaster, but, become very wealthy during the coming depression. You don't have to be rich or know anything about finance to take advantage of this advice.

The advice in this article comes from Harry Browne. Harry Browne is considered one of the top financial advisors in the country today. If you would have taken his advice in 1970, you would already be substantially wealthier. Your investments would have brought you a 300% to 400% return. But take heart. There is still much more to be made. In fact, the best is yet to come.

Harry Browne not only predicted the 1972 devaluation of the dollar two years before it happened, he predicted exactly how it would occur, what signs there would be just before it occured and exactly what the government would do and say. Harry Browne is now predicting a depression more severe than the Great Depression of the 1930's.

You're saying to yourself, "How can this be? The country is depression proof!"

Well, lets examine the facts. Experts are saying: Depressions have been legislated out of existence. Economic cycles are a way of life in any nation that uses inflation to finance the growth of government. A look at the nation indicates a prosperous America. Inflation is a problem but, there are more people working than ever before. Steel production is at 90% capacity. Other industries are setting new production records. There are more products and services available. The president has said there absolutely will not be a depression. The Federal Reserve System has a host of powers with which to control the economy. In addition, there is an intricate structure of governmental programs to undergrid the economy: public works, highway construction, farm programs, anti-monopoly controls, taxing policies, stock market regulation and a multitude of other federal powers. Gold is leaving the treasury, but the nation's currency is backed by our great productive strength, not by a yellow metal. No wonder the experts are saying that our government is now capable of creating permanent prosperity.



Harry Browne, pictured above speaking at Carnegie Hall, is considered the top financial expert in the nation. It would cost you $2500.00 to attend a four hour private consultation. This article will tell you how to get exactly the same information given in these consultations for less than $10.

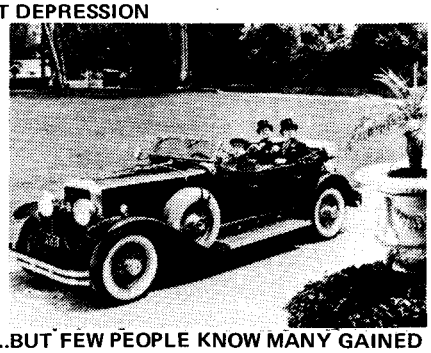
Now don't you feel secure? If you do, you had better go back and re-read the foregoing passage. Because, EVERY WORD IN THE ABOVE PARAGRAPH CAME FROM NEWS ITEMS - NOT OF THE PRESENT DAY AMERICA - BUT, OF AMERICA JUST BEFORE THE 1929 CRASH!

What does it mean to be one of the many losers during a depression? It is a horrifying experience! People who have lived thru the 1930's Great Depression are not petrified of depressions without good reason. Here is what it will be like during the depression for the average family.

You will quickly lose your house, car, savings and major possessions. Don't believe that hogwash that banks will not foreclose mortgages during hard times. They will! "Depression Camps" consisting of thrown-together shacks will spring up in vacant slum areas. You will have no money. You won't have water, sewer, gas or electricity. Heating will be done by pot belly stoves that barely provide enough heat. For food you will eat things like dandelions to try to make-up for the sparse rations you get on bread lines. You and your children will go to bed cold and hungry. There will be no shoes for the kids and few clothes. Sounds like a made-up horror story? Ask someone who lived thru it. It is not uncommon to hear of tales like having one shirt for four kids or going without food for several days in a row. Harsh as it may seem, these are cold, hard facts.

THE 1930's GREAT DEPRESSION

MANY LOST....



....BUT FEW PEOPLE KNOW MANY GAINED

What causes depressions? The answer is one word. GOVERNMENT.

Depressions are not caused by unions, stock market speculation, by unregulated free enterprise, by gold speculations, by greedy profiteers, by shortages of demand, by capitalism nor by lack of confidence. Depressions are caused by the government's inflationary printing of money and supplementation of industries which produce products people do not want, but, rather what the government thinks they should have.

Governments without exception are inefficient and incompetent. Federal programs such as social security, etc, are always disasters. There has never been and never will be a problem that will be solved by a government. People think they need government to give them something they can't get on their own. The truth is, however, the government always takes much and gives you back little. The more government there is, the less prosperity.

Because governments are inefficient they cannot operate and expand on existing tax money. They, therefore, turn on the printing presses and make unsecured money--money not backed by gold or silver. They rendered no goods or services to obtain their money. This produces a situation where there is now more money and less goods. Prices are determined by dividing the existing amount of goods into the existing amount of money. Prices are bid up out of sight with the extra unsecured money in circulation. Prices are also bid upward by wages paid by government supported industries who provide no marketable goods or services. Therefore, we have, again, money being dumped on the market, but, no goods or services.

The General Market consists of all market transactions that take place in the country. In other words all buying and selling. If left alone, it is a beautiful self-governing, self regulating system. No government can really control it. When the government tries, the General Market always catches up and wins the struggle with government. The liquidation period of the unsecured money and unwanted industries is called a recession. Depressions are severe recessions prolonged by the fact that the government intervenes and tries in vain to prevent the inevitable liquidation.

However, here's the good news. You are not helpless against this situation. There is something you can do to avoid financial ruin and pick up a tidy profit at the same time.

What is it? You can join the ranks of the many people who use the financial programs of Harry Browne. These people have not only become wealthy, but, their wealth is protected from inflation, recessions and depressions. In everyday, simple language Harry Browne will reveal to you:

* *How to tell when the depression is coming.*
* *How to get your wealth out of endangered areas and into protected, inflation proof investments.*
* *If you now have your money in savings accounts, stocks, bonds, dollars or other related investments, you're in big trouble.*
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LETTERS

(Continued from page 10)

press," and "the right of the people peaceably to assemble." It obviously and inescapably did not refer to an absolute abstract "right." It referred to an existing set of rights, something which Englishmen and citizens of the newly independent separate states already had. A reference to Blackstone tells us that at the period there was a particular "freedom of speech" and "freedom of the press." It was very severely limited. Juries, for instance, were used under the common and statutory law of England solely to determine the fact of publication. Once publication and responsibility were determined, judges could decide if the published material was such as to set different groups of the population against each other, or constitute sedition, and they could decide if the publisher should be punished. Similarly *the* right of free speech was at that time a far from absolute right, particularly with regard to political utterances. It was severely limited by the common law definition of libel. Such limitations have been practically destroyed by recent Supreme Court decisions, which give the press near-absolute immunity.

Troy, Ala. JOHN W. BOWLING

The UN's Fate

Wm. F. Buckley Jr. ["On the Right," Dec. 6] seems to take it for granted that the present trend of the United Nations "will gradually phase [it] out" as a serious organ, and that this will lead to its "passage from the scene." My view is the exact opposite. The UN, planned as a potential world government (I once heard Arthur Schlesinger Jr. refer to its charter as the Magna Charta of mankind), goes the way of all such projects: unless it disintegrates in a short time, it becomes the instrument of an ideological group (majority or minority) which aspires to world domination.

Since a world government would be, by definition, despotic, it cannot, also by definition, represent all mankind, only a part of it. Until the expulsion of the Republic of China, the UN was an inefficient, ideologically tilted, but basically amorphous group, kept alive by *this* country's false universalism. From now on, it will approach, if not the status, at least the reality of a world government, that is, a power concentration of radical forces imposing their will on the rest.

New York, N.Y. THOMAS MOLNAR

Republicans Can Win

I enjoyed George F. Will's column about the 1974 election ["Convictions," Nov. 22], but I'm afraid he missed two good campaign slogans and one important point. Republicans *can* win elections. Four of our five congressmen are Republicans; all of them were reelected. The fifth, liberal Democrat Bill Roy, ran for the Senate and was defeated by incumbent Republican Bob Dole. Moreover, Republicans have regained control of the governor's mansion after eight Democratic years.

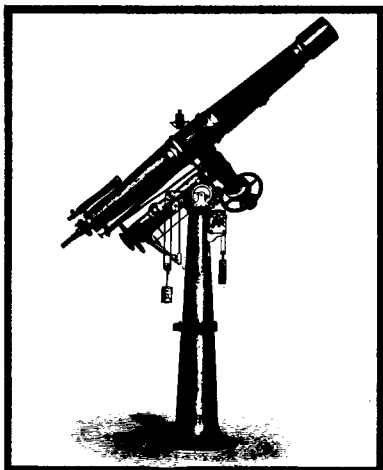
Both Dole and Robert Bennett—former president pro tempore of the Kansas Senate (also Republican)—had uphill battles against their opponents, but they made it. Bennett's slogan, "For Kansas, Bennett's Better," evidently worked, along with his greater experience in Kansas government, to defeat Vern Miller, the tough attorney general whose slogan Mr. Will so eloquently criticized. And out here in western Kansas' big First District, Keith Sebelius won 65 per cent of the vote in a hard, three-way, mudslinging race. His slogan? "Keith, Kansas, and Common Sense." It might be wise to remember that last item before we try to start another political party to draft Reagan for President.

Hays, Kan. SUSAN REYNOLDS

Non-England's Constitution

I enjoyed Gerhart Niemeyer's article "Limits of the Law" [Nov. 8]; however I have to take issue with him on one point. He writes: "The British Constitution, to this day unwritten, received its shape from a series of such contests . . ."

In fact the British Constitution *is* written, in the Treaty of Union of 1707. By that treaty, England and Scotland both ceased to exist, and a new entity was created, called the United Kingdom. In other words Queen Anne, Queen of England, sat



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down with Queen Anne, Queen of Scotland, abolished both entities and created a new one with Queen Anne as Queen. Thus despite the song "There'll Always Be an England" there has been no England since 1707. Yet there has been a British constitution since that date. Most writers assume the existence of England and the nonexistence of a constitution. The reverse in fact is true.

Lennoxville, Quebec ALEX MCGREGOR

Second Cousin

As is to be expected with M. J. Sobran Jr.'s articles, "Kudirka Lands in America" [Dec. 6] was fundamentally sound and generally acceptable. Nevertheless, it contained a few errors of geographical, historical, and linguistic fact.

After all, Lithuania—on the Baltic Sea—is in Western Europe, and belongs to the Soviet Union because the Soviet Union has an empire that extends west of Berlin. Does that place Lithuania in Eastern Europe?

"We don't have much contact with Eastern Europe, we Americans," says Sobran. "Their languages are no kin to ours . . ." What about Lithuanian?

Of course, Finnish, Estonian, Hungarian, and Turkish are Ural-Altaic, and therefore not Indo-European. However, Lithuanian was once described to me as "pretty good Sanskrit." Could anything identify it more succinctly as one of the Indo-European languages?

Alexandria, Va. DAVID BACON

Crossroads

One can understand a man who opposed American involvement in South Vietnam yet supports our involvement in Israel. But what can you say about someone who applauds our support of President Thieu but writes that it's none of our "*national* business" how Palestine is politically organized? Nothing, except that he'd rather be perverse than logical.

Mr. James Burnham—for indeed he is precisely such a man—rightly observes ["Fire at the Center," Dec. 6] that the historical territory of Palestine occupies one of the world's most important strategic crossroads. But he forgets to mention that, thanks to intense American concern about its political organization, this crossroads is firmly in the hands of the West. The coastal route is controlled by Israel. The inland, trans-Jordan route is controlled by King Hussein. If Mr. Burnham worries about strategy why does he remotely consider the PLO proposal for a "secular, democratic nation"? If the PLO has anything to do with that nation, it will be closely allied to the Soviet Union. Mr. Farouk Qaddumi, the PLO's "foreign minister," told me so himself. If your readers wish to prevent this strategic crossroads from changing spheres of influence, they ought to have at least a very lively interest in preserving its political status quo.

Brooklyn, N.Y. JAMES R. ADAMS

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T. J. Holt's PREDICTIONS FOR 1975

Including His Views on What May Be Next Year's Most Unexpected Economic Development

ON JANUARY 3, 1975, Mr. Holt published his annual predictions in The Holt Investment Advisory. This report first reviews the key predictions he made a year ago. For example, it analyzes:

1) Why Holt was right in predicting that the Dow-Jones industrials would drop below 600 during 1974, but wrong in suggesting that a technical rally early in the year might lift the DJIA by more than 150 points (it actually was closer to 100 points).
2) Why he was right in predicting that the price of precious metals would soar, but wrong in expecting gold would sell well above $200 an ounce (it only approximated that level).
3) Why he was right in predicting that new triple-A rated bonds would have to offer 10% or higher interest rates, but wrong in expecting capital outlays to peak in the first half (business started major cutbacks only toward the latter part of the year).

In his "Predictions for 1975," Holt . . .

. . . discusses how he believes developments in 1974 will affect the new year.

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If you don't make sure you can afford to eat, just who do you suppose is going to do it?

☐ Ford ☐ Butz ☐ Hubert ☐ Mao
☐ None of the above

As I write (11-21-74) a headline in today's *Wall Street Journal* summarizes a report —

Food Prices May Rise
By 15% to 20% in 1975.
Due to Small Harvests

Bad news but old news. Eth and I were able to read it with some detachment — even with a grim satisfaction in the thought that one of our investments seems to be proving itself validly chosen.

You can do what we've done, even now. So perhaps our story will interest you.

You see, nobody in our family is assured of an income-rise to keep pace with the cost of living. And we're already stretched drum-tight. So as prices get worse and worse . . .

On foods, however, we took defensive action some months back. We sent a goodly supply to our grandchildren in Albuquerque, and we laid in another lot for ourselves and our locally-based sons, who drop in for dinner now and then. Though we have precious little space for storage, we've managed to set up today's version of the traditional American pantry — a reserve to fall back on. We'll go on shopping the markets while we can steel ourselves to face the checkout calculations; we'll be there if seasonal super-abundance brings bargains. But now we have an alternative to utter dependence on This Week's Specials. And the kids in Albuquerque are assured against nutritional shortfall for quite a spell, no matter what happens.

We feel that we were slow to read the handwriting on the wall. It's easy to see that we'd have saved a bundle if we'd taken on our reserves a year or two earlier. But we're glad we reacted when we did. Suppose we had waited another year . . . (As the wry old man said, when asked how he felt, "Not as good as I did yesterday, but better than I will tomorrow.")

Of course, most foods as you find them in the markets won't store well. Too bulky, too temporary. You need the new specially-prepared *storage foods*, "dehydrated or freeze dried, and sealed in a neutral atmosphere" — a description that doesn't inspire appetite even in undemanding me. And my wife Eth is a health nut in the finest sense: hates preservatives and synthetics, cherishes the odd nutrients Nature tucks into fresh edibles, thinks the AMA has a lot to learn (sorry, Doc). I had small hope we'd accept storage foods, but we set out to discover what we could.

We went to Salt Lake City. Utah is the storage-foods hub of the universe. Keeping self-sufficient with food reserves has been a way of life among the Mormons for a hundred years and more, and now they're using Space Age technologies to broaden their menu and extend its safe storage life. Their packers, lucky for all of us, were geared to handle the crunch.

Well, we were astonished. We made the taste tour like a couple of winos turned loose in Napa Valley. The food is *good;* and we've found verification that it retains its nutritional qualities extremely well. The packer we chose is experienced, able, well-motivated — aware of the concerns of the health nut. He has us convinced that these are the best of the storage foods, the least-compromised. The large lots we worked out with him provide both for pleasure in eating and for the proper regimen of calories, vitamins, minerals, and protein. They're remarkably light and compact, and secure for years against significant deterioration. We believe they're an Idea Whose Time Has Come.

In due course, we bought for ourselves, and went on to hustle up enough outside interest so that we've qualified for the best discounts anybody can get. With big purchases (and more business red-tape than I was expecting) we've got ourselves set up as distributors. But we carry no inventory except to serve strictly local trade. We concentrate on finding customers this way, through advertising. We handle paper work, providing our packer with a marketing arm. And so we can provide you with access to these good foods at near-wholesale rates. With minimal overhead, we can share our discounts with you. We work on the thinnest mail-order margin imaginable — because beating the prices is the name of the game.

Food is still flowing freely as this message goes to press. Witness America's supermarkets: seas of colorful produce . . . freezer-cases brim-full . . . and there's milk, eggs, canned goods, almost everything in abundance — however high the prices. And up in Utah, whistling while they work, our packers are merrily drop-shipping orders to our customers from Sandy Hook to San Diego.

Whether the flow continues or not, you can bet food prices won't go down. We're adding to our deposit in Albuquerque, and *we urge you to act to provide the same kind of protection* for someone you care about — someone whose inelastic income will snap without this insurance. Food is at least as good a hedge as precious metals. ("The time will come," Brigham Young told our packers' forebears, "that gold will hold no comparison in value to a bushel of wheat.")

And do order through us. Make use of our spadework. Since we've recovered our initial costs, we've become the storage foods price-cutting hub of the universe. On our honor: we deliver more for less. *But act now.* We call our enterprise "Security Foods, *Ltd.*" because we think our candle burns at both ends. It's good to buy food today. Not as good as yesterday, but better than tomorrow.

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SOBRAN

(Continued from page 43)

over" concerning democratic politics. American conservatism's great strength, he argued, is popular sentiment. We have too long tried to outwit the "great beast" (Nixon being the obvious embodiment of this attitude), not realizing that it is our ally. He cited startling polls concerning Americans' views on touchstone issues: 56 per cent of blacks in one poll favored private voluntary action as the best means of improving race relations (only 19 per cent wanted government action); only 14 per cent of all those polled making less than $4,000 a year favored a redistributionist program that would raise their incomes to $10,000. He went on to observe several paradoxes of presidential politics, naming Nixon and Gerald Ford as obstructive of, if not inimical to, the best political arrangements conservatives have recently had within their reach: best would have been a narrow Muskie victory over Nixon in 1972, and we should get Ford defeated by a tolerable Democrat next time around.

The last session concerned the mass media. Frank Shakespeare, formerly of CBS news, the firmly anti-Communist USIA Commissioner in the first Nixon Administration, and now with Westinghouse Electric, spoke of the media's effect on the rate of change in governments, noting that every Western European government changed regimes in 1974 and that American heads of state since Kennedy have toppled rapidly: Johnson, Nixon, Agnew, and now the pressure builds on both Ford and Nelson Rockefeller. Communist regimes have recognized the meaning and potency of the communications revolution: Shakespeare wondered whether we have. Reed Irvine of Accuracy in Media told of his own attempt to counteract liberal bias in news reporting, and set himself up for some rough questioning from the audience by asserting that conservatives, whatever their principled objections to the Fairness Doctrine (Irvine himself seems not to object to it, in the light of the nature of network television), should make use of it. □

MARTIN

(Continued from page 44)

its own peril, then the door is open for our disintegration.

With such an evanescent idea of the self, we make possible a genocidal or elitist treatment of human beings such as Genghis Khan and Hitler never dreamed of, and Stalin and Mao Tse-tung never achieved. (And how many humanitarian reasons would be given for it: betterment of the race; limited food supplies and relief of suffering; preservation of what is valuable; etc.; etc.) But that would not be the only or even the greatest risk.

Once I know that my personhood depends on a court ruling or a board decision, once this is the accepted norm in my society, I immediately lose any inner conviction or outer guarantee of personal worth. Personal love, personal dignity, personal achievement become arbitrary and relative. I now live in no anticipation of fulfilling my personal ideals. And I must conclude that there never has been a world of human beings whom God could have so loved as to send His Son to save them. If the self is a mere growing, fading, and destructible complex of psychophysical acts, it is no investment for divine love.

Should we subscribe to such proposals as Dr. Gaylin's—and they are many, varied, and always bolstered by a professed desire to help some group or remedy some problem—we would do no less than reverse the fundamental equation on which our civilization has been built and our culture developed: that each human being is an inviolable self; that its presence in the body does not depend on the arbitrary choice of men, but on a personal and uncreated love which speaks individually to each John and Mary Doe, saying anciently and still today: "I love the self you are. I am the ultimate arbiter of your bodily life, as I am of your immortality." □

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WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

On The Right

Crossroad

New York, Dec. 20—The attention being given to the unemployment figure is the most concentrated since the approach, by Henry Aaron, to a new world record as a home run hitter. Every day, the figure inches up. And we are training ourselves to say that when it hits 7 per cent, a drastic change will occur in economic policy. At that point, the pundits are saying, we will reflate—giving to this operation precedence over curbing inflation.

Mr. Milton Friedman, the wise and learned economist, made recently a throwaway observation, to which I think insufficient attention has been paid. It is that for perhaps the first time the number of people in America who stand to be hurt by inflation greatly exceeds the number who stand to be hurt by anti-inflationary measures. That being so, it would appear that the majority would work their way on the minority. And that anti-inflationary measures would continue to prevail, over against inflationary measures. That is the political logic of the observation, but it is unsafe to predict that that which is politically logical is that which will happen.

For one thing, there is a lack of common understanding. If—let us use some raw figures—it damages strategically 80 per cent of the American people to do something which will bring tactical relief to 20 per cent of the American people—then one needs to inquire exactly into the nature, on the one hand, of the relief for the minority, and the sacrifice of the majority. Using such Benthamite specifications, the pleasure-pain principle would suggest that it obviously hurts the middle class less to suffer a 10 per cent erosion in their savings by more inflation than it hurts the lower class to suffer unemployment.

But that is the easy formulation, most popularly resorted to by demagogic politicians and socialist doctrinaires. The tough-minded contemporary analyst will insist on a closer specification of the pains and the pleasures involved.

For instance: unemployment today is not by any means the same thing as unemployment in the 1920s, or even in the 1930s. Unemployment once upon a time meant a close brush with extreme physical hardship. It could mean hunger, even starvation; the total neglect of the family; life without necessary medical aid; without shelter.

As a practical matter, the unemployment we have today means less than that. There is a variety of relief, coming in from federal, state, and local organizations, covering food, shelter, medicine; even clothing. Granted, the longer one is unemployed, the more attenuated the relief, depending on the state one lives in. On the other hand, it is also true that one can find, without looking very hard, hardy specimens of Americans who have been unemployed for years, and look not that much worse for the experience. It is also true that every issue of every newspaper offers employment of various kinds, day after day, to those willing to do the less attractive work of the society: the menial work.

At the other end of the picture, the erosion of 10 per cent, say, in the buying power of the middle class is not merely a one-time erosion of its savings. It must be viewed as the refranchising of a mechanism which cannot be aborted merely by switching gears. It is a process that does more than deduct 10 per cent from the purchasing power of a dollar. It influences myriad decisions of huge strategic consequence. Mr. Alan Greenspan, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers to the President, has said that if we reflate within the next year, it may require twenty years before economic equilibrium is restabilized.

The new Congress is raring to go, and when that figure of 7 per cent unemployed is reached, we are likely to see—or, better, to be overrun by—a huge splurge in Washington, aimed at reducing that figure. All the resources of national sobriety are greatly needed now: to devise practical means of helping the 7 per cent, without institutionalizing that inflation that cost them their jobs in the first place. The wonder of it is that we have at this odd and crucial moment in American history probably the best oriented tight circle of men who ever held influence and power around the Executive. A conservative President, surrounded by tough economic conservative advisers, Greenspan, Simon, and Burns. If they cannot publicize the case for sobriety, it is unlikely anyone else ever can; and possible that no one will ever again have the opportunity. □

THE BUCKLEY-JAVITS FEUD

New York, Dec. 22—The political writers, or some of them in any case, are attempting to feed, and then feast off, a monstrous feud between the senior and junior senators from New York State which, in fact, is a molehill. An instructive molehill, inasmuch as it illuminates both the temptation to inflate political differences, and the effect of such an inflation. Specifically, the question is: who will inherit the position of chairman of the Republican Conference in the United States Senate, a position of exiguous importance, being vacated by Senator Norris Cotton of New Hampshire, who is retiring.

Here are the events that, unaccountably, have created the current excitement.

1. Senator Javits decides that he will run for the vacant position. He accompanies his statement with the usual business about how the Republican Party has to become more progressive in order to attract more voters.

2. Mr. Richard Rosenbaum, who is the Republican State Chairman of New York, telephones Senator James Buckley and asks whether he will support Senator Javits. Mr. Buckley informs Mr. Rosenbaum that he is not given to announcing his position on leadership votes ahead of time; that he understands and sympathizes with that part of Mr. Rosenbaum's enthusiasm for the candidacy of Senator Javits that flows from state pride, and will weigh that factor before making up his mind.

3. Mr. Rosenbaum decides to apply a little pressure, which is not the quickest road to the affections of the sainted junior senator from New York, and travels to Washington to lobby for Senator Javits, which activity results in a number of telephone calls to Senator Buckley's office urging him to vote for his fellow New Yorker.

4. Senator Carl Curtis from Nebraska at this point announces his own candidacy for the vacant chairmanship. Now Senator Curtis' Republicanism makes Senator Javits sound a little to the left of Mother Bloor. Senator Buckley, meanwhile, in his own postmortems on the Republican disaster of last November, had been suggesting that the Party should take a vigorous tack to the right, i.e., in the direction of

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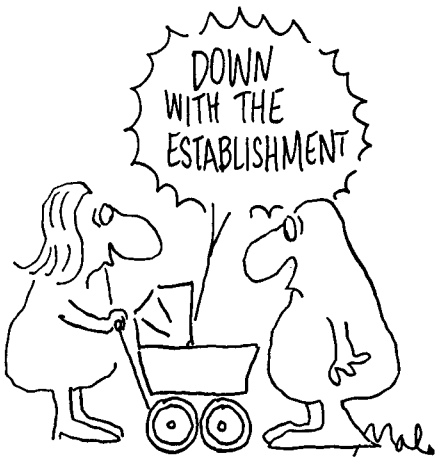
Senator Curtis' politics, rather than Senator Javits'.

Which combination of events 5) prompted Senator Buckley to put an end to the lobbying for his own vote by fellow New Yorkers, by declaring, simply, that he would support Senator Curtis.

6. Now this did not surprise Senator Javits in the least. Indeed, it is a well-kept secret that he and Senator Buckley get along very well. They respect one another's differences rather than affect that such differences do not exist. Indeed, some of Senator Buckley's best friends are Democrats. Senator Javits accordingly issued a single and dignified statement saying that he understood his colleague's preference for Senator Curtis given their ideological consanguinity; and that his feelings were not hurt in the least.

7. But any resolution so amicable, of a situation that could be fanned into a vendetta, did not satisfy the political writers. When last heard from, one of them, writing for the *New York Daily News*, under the blazing headline BUCKLEY-JAVITS SPAT A NEW BLOW TO PUNCHY GOP reported that Senator Buckley's decision, "despite frantic efforts by state Party leaders to hold the lid down and mute the resulting controversy," had caused "county leaders [to] react sharply, registering surprise, chagrin, disappointment, and downright anger." This surprise, chagrin, disappointment, and downright anger, was downright surprising to both senators from New York, who now find themselves embroiled in a feud for which they have no particular appetite. There are professional and personal reasons for this. For one thing, the two senators from any state, even if they are in different parties, need to cooperate for certain purposes, such as naming judges, pork barreling, etc. For another, any stress on the ideological character of the quarrel between Curtis and Javits for the chairmanship, tends to weaken the position of the winner, whoever he is. I.e., if Mr. Javits should win, it would be not as Javits the ideologue, but as Javits the very senior senator. If the contrary impression is given, he would tend to get less cooperation from those senators who might then feel that they were being coopted into an alien faith.



However, politics is such a dreary business, the writers must, one supposes, be forgiven the melodramatization of the news. But for the sake of clarity, I report the situation as it evolved, performing yet another public service. □

COLUMNISTS ARE PEOPLE

New York, Dec. 24 —People who write newspaper columns are also people, and that is a great, but unexpungeable, distraction. It is sometimes useful to be a people, in addition to a newspaper columnist—there is no other way, for instance, to have a family, or to drink good wine, or engage avocationally in other practices than writing a column. But let me, just this one time, share my problems with you as a fellow people, giving four examples.

1. A month ago, a tape was played at the Watergate trial. The voice of President Nixon came in loud and clear, talking to Haldeman, discussing clemency for Howard Hunt. He said: "We'll build, we'll build that son-of-a-bitch up, like nobody's business. We'll have Buckley write a column and say, you know, that he, that he should have clemency. . . ."

Within a very few minutes, my office reached me at the airport en route to Boston. The newspapers had begun to call in, asking the obvious question: was Mr. Buckley approached? Does he have any comment? I dictated over the telephone two sentences that were then given by my office to the *New York Post*, the *New York Times*, and the Associated Press: "At no time did any member of the Nixon Administration approach me. Besides, I don't need to be reminded to write columns urging clemency even for sons of bitches, as Mr. Nixon has every reason to know from personal experience." The next morning, the charge was carried very conspicuously in the *Boston Globe*—together with my retort. Which I also saw in the New York papers and in *Time* magazine. Notwithstanding, I have received much mail asking why I was silent on the subject raised at the Watergate trial. And two large newspapers have carried letters by readers suggesting that I have been an appendage of the Nixon Administration—without any comment from the editor, bringing to the writer's attention my brief reply. One more example of the difficulty of catching up with a misleading story.

2. A month or so ago, I wrote a column on the now famous Goldberg book by Victor Lasky, in which I expressed the view—having now read the book—that although it was of course hostile to Justice Goldberg, it was far from being libelous. I remarked that the only distortion in it was Lasky's statement that Mr. Goldberg was the worst public speaker in the State of New York, since in fact he was the worst in the country. I received a letter from a journalist who covered the campaign advising me that it was going the rounds of the boys in the bus toward the end, that "if Goldberg gives one more speech Rockefeller will carry Canada." Mr. Goldberg called me on the telephone and was extremely amiable, and made no criticism of the book, merely of its provenance.

I did not note, in my column, that I am the chairman of the board of the parent company that owns the company (Arlington House) that published the Goldberg book. I did not do this for two reasons. The first was that when the book was first discussed, my position in the corporate hierarchy was widely identified, so that I proceeded on the happy, or if you prefer unhappy, assumption that most people knew about it. The second reason is that never having heard of the book before, I was in no way implicated in the decision whether to publish it. But if I had mentioned my corporate affiliation in the column, I'd have had to go on to make the connecting point, and this struck me, on balance, as unnecessarily self-concerned. Result: a big article in *Editor & Publisher* on whether my omission of my connection was ethically correct. You decide.

3. Maybe four or five times a year, I am greatly struck by an article or analysis published in NATIONAL REVIEW. Now I am the editor in chief of NATIONAL REVIEW, and its sole owner. So when I mention the article, I give the name of the author—but leave out the name of the magazine where the article was published, lest it should appear that I am attempting to advertise my impecunious but magnificent journal (150 E. 35th St., New York, N.Y. 10016—$15 per year). Then I get mail asking me how could I have been so sloppy as to fail to give the name of the journal where the article I wrote about appeared . . .

Finally, 4) there is no way to avoid writing, occasionally, about the doings and sayings of James Lane Buckley. How should I identify him? As "my brother the senator"? That has the obvious disadvantage of calling attention to myself, and the less obvious disadvantage of snuggling up against the cognate cliché, "my son the doctor." So, I resolved to refer to him as "the sainted junior senator from New York." Hyperbole is a form of self-effacement; but I still get a letter or two, complaining. These I answer by expressing great surprise that the reader is unaware of the beatific character of the junior senator from New York. But there, now, you share my problems this one time, and I shan't ask you soon again to share them. Many thanks. □

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Trans-O-Gram

By SVEND PETERSEN

DEFINITIONS

A. Frightening — 4 15 49 98 194 225 163 130 204 207 / 215

B. Nation the size of Penna. with U.N. vote — 23 19 91 184 152 213 100 112

C. Nation the size of Mass. with U.N. vote — 42 20 54 219 188 114 148 169 67 162

D. Nation of 2,000,000 pop. with U.N. vote — 55 95 88 216 156 222 147 74 129

E. Type of social scientist — 89 200 56 117 155 185 5 75 230

F. What too much thinking is — 121 37 178 58 154 77 135

G. Inhabitant of a nation the size of Nebr. with U.N. vote — 136 158 211 45 96 113 6 199

H. A meeting on a Russian river — 141 206 41 224 131 198 186 161 94

I. Nation the size of Md. with U.N. vote — 151 46 86 111 21 182

J. Kipling's first successful novel — 31 143 133

K. Nation of 4,000,000 pop. with U.N. vote — 66 189 61 197 175

L. Form of complete destruction of people or other creatures — 99 71 122 17 140 153 137 168 65 193 / 203 228 3

M. An investigation of subversion, according to those whose toes are stepped on — 179 214 11 97 47 196 83 119 29

N. Nation smaller than S.C. with U.N. vote — 192 1 24 159 172 124 208 212 229 60 / 110

O. Partnership in certain short stories about a lawyer — 195 40 22 52 7 69 92 126 25 27 / 57

P. Associated familiarly — 123 120 62 146 181 8 68 32 183

Q. Period or state of decline — 128 78 134 12 33 173 48

R. Nation the size of Colo. with U.N. vote — 171 221 76 115 160 142 150 43 64 167

S. Nation of 14,125 sq. mi. with U.N. vote — 217 132 157 127 174 202 209 30 82 144 / 35

T. Inhabitants of a nation the size of S.D. with U.N. vote — 226 106 177 13 93 191 164

U. Morally corrupting — 26 9 108 80 70 201 101

V. Pertaining to a substance held to produce spirit materialization — 107 81 125 28 139 187 210 2 14 51 / 36

W. Amusing — 16 102 165 218 205

X. Port on the Adriatic — 38 72 170 84 103 145

Y. What Abdelazziz Bouteflika is (*unfortunately*) — 63 87 116 149 227 53 39 59 90 105

Z. Another nation the size of Md. with U.N. vote — 79 50 166 73 18 180 190

a. One of the oldest nations in the world; has U.N. vote — 118 104 223 109 34

b. One of England's counties — 138 10 44 85 176 220

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the WORDS (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

See page 60 for solution of last Trans-O-Gram.

	1 N	2 V	3 L	4 A		5 E	6 G		7 O	8 P	9 U	10 b	11 M		12 Q	13 T	14 V	15 A	
16 W	17 L		18 Z	19 B	20 C	21 I		22 O	23 B	24 N		25 O		26 U		27 O	28 V		29 M
30 S	31 J	32 P		33 Q	34 a	35 S		36 V	37 F	38 X	39 Y	40 O	41 H		42 C	43 R	44 b	45 G	46 I
47 M	48 Q	49 A	50 Z		51 V	52 O		53 Y	54 C		55 D	56 E	57 O	58 F	59 Y	60 N	61 K		62 P
63 Y	64 R		65 L	66 K		67 C	68 P	69 O	70 U	71 L	72 X	73 Z	74 D	75 E		76 R	77 F	78 Q	79 Z
80 U	81 V		82 S	83 M	84 X	85 b	86 I	87 Y	88 D	89 E		90 Y	91 B	92 O		93 T	94 H		95 D
96 G	97 M	98 A	99 L	100B	101U	102W	103X	104a	105Y	106T		107V	108U	109a	110N	111I	112B	113G	114C
115R		116Y	117E	118a		119M	120P	121F		122L	123P	124N	125V		126O	127S	128Q		129D
130A	131H	132S	133J	134Q	135F	136G		137L	138b		139V	140L	141H	142R	143J	144S	145X	146P	147D
	148C		149Y	150R	151I	152B	153L		154F	155E	156D		157S	158G	159N	160R	161H	162C	163A
164T	165W	166Z		167R	168L	169C		170X	171R	172N	173Q	174S	175K	176b	177T	178F		179M	180Z
181P		182I	183P	184B		185E	186H	187V	188C	189K	190Z	191T	192N		193L	194A		195O	196M
197K		198H	199G	200E	201U	202S	203L	204A	205W		206H	207A	208N	209S		210V	211G	212N	213B
214M	215A	216D	217S		218W	219C	220b	221R	222D	223a	224H	225A	226T		227Y	228L	229N	230E	

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Filter: 11 mg. "tar", 0.7 mg. nicotine, Menthol: 11 mg. "tar", 0.8 mg. nicotine, av. per cigarette, FTC Report OCT. '74.

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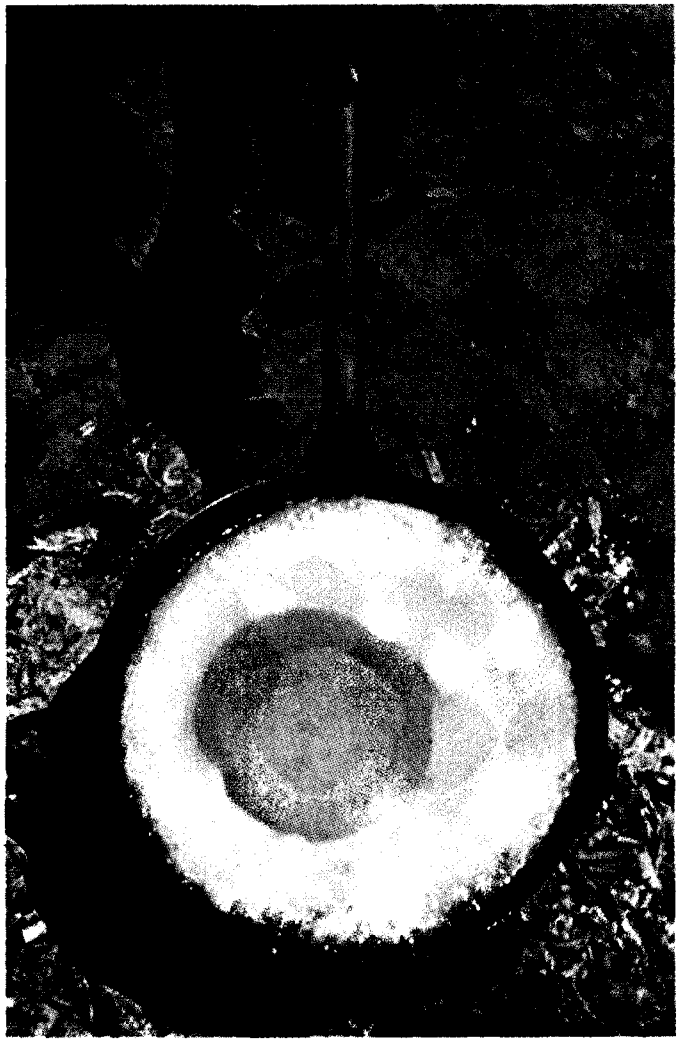

or taste our food.

In our bush country, a braaivleis is as traditional as a barbecue in America. But at a braaivleis they cook impala on a spit instead of hamburgers on a grill. And they serve an ostrich egg, which is the equivalent of two dozen chicken eggs in one shell.

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